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HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE NETHERLANDS

BY

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PART I.

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE BEGINNING
OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

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TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

LITTLE explanation is needed for the presentation to an English-reading public of this *History of the People of the Netherlands*. There are many studies on brief periods in the Netherlands, notably upon Holland in the sixteenth century, but there is no one work which treats of the gradual changes undergone by the provinces separately and collectively, from the period of Roman dominion, through the centuries of almost undisturbed independence, to the union of the states under the Burgundian princes, and, after an epoch of revolt and changes, to the time of the formation of the kingdoms of Belgium and of Holland.

It has been the purpose of Dr. Blok to trace the history of the separation of the Netherland nation, *het volk van Nederland*, the Dutch people, first, from the tribes of Northwestern Germany, and, secondly, from the Belgic race within the Low Countries; and this scheme has now been partially carried out.

Until 1588, there was no Dutch nation proper. Hence the long story of its evolution fills the first two volumes of Dr. Blok's work, covering the period from the earliest times to the beginning of the revolt against Spanish rule. These volumes are, therefore, fairly complete in themselves. The succeeding volumes are in preparation, to follow in due time.

The English version has been prepared with the approval of the author, and, according to the author's

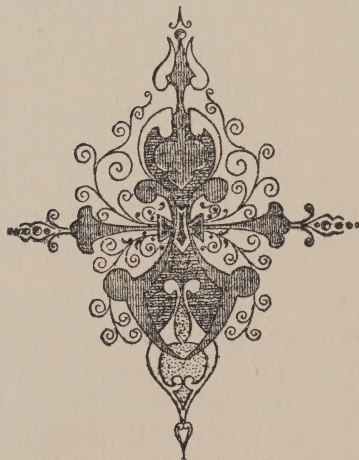
suggestion, the political narrative has been somewhat abridged in translation, while the account of the development of social, industrial, and intellectual conditions is given in full.

The translation of the first volume of the original was made by Mr. Oscar A. Bierstadt, of the Astor Library, who then relinquished into my hands the task of completing the work.

The plan of abbreviating certain divisions of the work made desirable a readjustment of some portions of the material in order to render the volumes more nearly uniform, and I have, therefore, added to this first volume of the translation six chapters from Part II. of the original.

R. P.

NEW YORK, Sept. 1, 1898.





AUTHOR'S PREFACE

IN completing the first volume of the work which I propose writing on the history of our country, I have fulfilled the most difficult and least agreeable portion of my allotted task.

An enquiry into our mediæval history must be the foundation of the whole structure. Such an investigation encounters many difficulties, not the least being that no written record exists for political history of this period. Our eighteenth-century historians simply caricatured the Middle Ages; Bilderdijk did not improve matters greatly; Arend offers us a report indigestible from its abundance of food; Wenzelburger gives little more for the time than an excerpt very unevenly compiled; the great history of the Netherlands by my honoured colleague, Wijnne, is adapted for a text-book. Our sources for the knowledge of ancient times are, moreover, very incomplete and unequal in value.

Nevertheless, this history is of the greatest importance, especially considering the aim I have in view. As my revered master Fruin said in his admirable article in *De Gids*, entitled, "Eene Hollandsche stad in de Middeleeuwen": "Whoever holds progress and freedom dear, and trusts firmly in their future, must occasionally look back with interest to the training school (*oefenschool*) where the primitive race passed through the preliminary stages, wherein mankind prepared for the task of modern life and work." I have, therefore, attempted, by careful

critical sifting, to reduce the sparse and fragmentary records to a continuous narrative, wherever this is compatible with the fundamental principle so admirably formulated by Professor Seeley, of Cambridge, in his eminent work, *The Expansion of England*; "Make history interesting indeed! I cannot make history more interesting than it is, except by falsifying it."

Had it been necessary to give a motto to this work, I should have hesitated between these two sentiments, and possibly should have chosen Ranke's somewhat paradoxical utterance in 1827 regarding history in general, but applicable to this volume: "It is lamentable that our history is so fragmentary,—often obscure, often quite unknown. Nevertheless, some knowledge is certain, other parts can be restored so that a fair picture of the truth, as a whole, can be obtained" (*Das Ganze lässt sich vielleicht in voller Wahrheit fassen*). (Ranke, *Zur eigenen Lebensgeschichte*, page 164).

But enough of citation! One word further I must say—a word of heartfelt thanks to two persons who have aided me in the composition of this work. First, to my friend and colleague, Prof. G. S. Speijer, who has read my proofs and has offered many a valuable suggestion to rouse my dormant literary conscience; in the second place, to the hand which affectionately spared me the wearisome toil of making an index, and by so doing shared in this labour as in many another "*in lief en leed*."

P. J. B.

GRONINGEN, March 14, 1892.





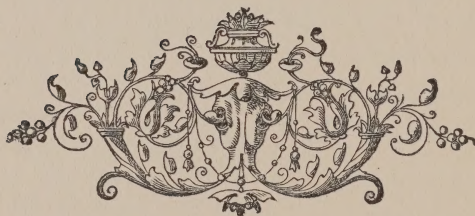
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HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF
THE NETHERLANDS



HISTORY OF THE DUTCH PEOPLE

INTRODUCTION

THE history of the Netherlands is largely a double history, — a history of two states. Belgium and Holland both belong to the Netherlands, but three centuries have now divided the Netherlanders into two nations. Before the end of the sixteenth century there was, however, no thought of a separation between the Northern and Southern Netherlands. This history aims to show how the Dutch and the Belgians, the people of the Netherlands, developed from the races of North-western Germany and how the former separated from the latter.

In olden time, the Netherlands formed part of the territory of two great families of nations, Germany and Gaul, separated by the Rhine. About the beginning of our era, Rome annexed to its empire the country on the left of the river, and extended its authority over some tribes upon the right bank, as the Batavians and Frisians, who were more closely bound to Rome than most other Germans. Thus the stronger influence of Rome's civilisation early distinguished the Netherlanders from the Germans beyond the Ems and Yssel.

The Franks, in the fourth and fifth centuries poured across the Rhine into the Roman empire, and gradually conquered all Gaul, together with the tribes of the Netherlands, and the Saxons and Frisians. But no separate

state could then be formed here. The Frisian kingdom, that might have become the nucleus of such a state, was in the eighth century incorporated with that of the Franks, and remained a part of it.

In the ninth century, Lorraine appeared as a portion of the great empire of the Franks, the name first indicating Lothaire's whole realm, long-drawn-out from the North Sea to Italy between East and West Francia. A hundred years afterwards it was divided into two duchies: Lower and Upper Lorraine. Lower Lorraine comprised the land between the Scheldt and Rhine, with Friesland, thus embracing the later Netherlands with the exception of Flanders and with the addition of much of the present Rhenish Prussia. But neither did this duchy become a separate state. Speedily it saw its greatness decline, its dukes eclipsed, and at last it was broken up into a number of small feudal states, which gradually united and transformed themselves into the Netherlandish provinces of the fourteenth century.

Between these different states there was apparently no bond of union, either geographical, political, linguistic, or ethnographical. Their history, however, discloses some connection. Flanders has to do with Cambresis and Hainaut, and the latter with Namur and Luxemburg. Brabant's relations with Limburg are mostly hostile; finally they unite. In Liege the interests of large and small states often conflict. Whatever lies south and east of these countries is more or less beyond their political horizon, as Picardy, Champagne, Cologne, Treves, and Jülich, but among themselves they have many points of contact. So it is too in the North, where Holland is friendly with Cleves and Bentheim, but fights with Guelders about Utrecht, with Flanders about Zeeland, with Utrecht about Friesland. Here Utrecht forms often the bone of contention, as Liege in the South. Guelders turns its eye upon Cleves, Mark, Berg, occa-

sionally upon Jülich, Cologne, and Münster, but no further, and has its chief wars and interests in Utrecht and Brabant. The Frisian districts are concerned rather with Groningen than with their neighbours across the Ems or with their spiritual head, the bishop of Münster. In short, without union, there is more of a community or conflict of interests between the later Burgundian provinces among themselves than between them and their southern or eastern neighbours.

At the end of the fourteenth century an important change took place. The powerful dynasty of the Burgundian dukes appeared in the southern provinces of the Netherlands. One after another, the small states were absorbed by the Burgundians, who had a lofty purpose, and strove in every way to reach it. They hoped to found a strong Burgundian monarchy, to unite the different peoples into one nation.

Charles V., the Burgundo-Austrian prince, seemed finally about to attain that end. In 1543 he conquered Guelders, the last independent country, and subjected it, like all the others, to the organisation of 1531, which might be called a great step towards the internal union of the Burgundian kingdom, the old feudal states becoming provinces of that kingdom. Externally the creation of the Burgundians was solidified when Charles, by the Augsburg treaty of 1548, gave an independent position to his German hereditary lands in the Netherlands, with Flanders and Artois, which four years earlier he had torn from France. The homage done his son Philip confirmed the bond between his race and the Netherlands, the brightest jewel of his crown. One dynasty ruled over the provinces.

The fusion of the Netherlands into one kingdom seemed accomplished. Flanders became the name of this new state in the languages of Europe, replacing the old collective name of Low Countries or Netherlands.

Venetian ambassadors and Florentine and Spanish writers speak of Flemish national character, customs, commercial interests, and government. Brussels was to be the seat of the central administration, as formerly of the brilliant Burgundian court. But in reality, matters did not progress so far. The so-called provinces of the new state still looked upon themselves as independent parts. The Fleming, the inhabitant of old Flanders, felt himself still different from the inhabitant of Brabant, Hainaut, or Guelders, from the Hollander or Frisian. Jealous of their ancient rights, proud of their former independence, separated from one another by countless commercial, political, and ethnological barriers, the citizens of the various provinces were not yet minded to submit without opposition to the plans of the foreign government for their union.

Unfortunately, Philip II. could not understand the strength of these inclinations. The Netherlands must become, like Spain, a kingdom, where but one will, the king's, prevailed; where but one religion, the Roman Catholic, was tolerated; where all was to be ruled from one point, the capital. Charles V. and his servants had known how to reckon with the past of the Netherlands; Philip II. and his Spanish councillors did not know this past or people, and were unable to appreciate its history or feelings. A spirit of opposition soon became evident in the Netherlands, and the government's many mistakes caused violent fermentation. The fanatical outburst of 1566 was suppressed by force of arms. Alva's coming with a strong Spanish army seemed to make resistance impossible, and the king prepared to carry out his plans. The rising of the North in 1572 prevented this. That insurrection was quickly confined to Holland and Zealand, but at its head stood the great Prince William of Orange. During four years he defended himself in the watery land, until the tyranny of the Spaniards awakened in the South

also the love of liberty, and the death of the new governor, Requesens, appeared to offer a favourable opportunity for throwing off the Spanish yoke. For a time it looked as if all the provinces would unite against Spain. The Pacification of Ghent (1576) was the expression of this idea, but the hope was not realised. Parma's ability as a general and politician, the native nobles' jealousy of the half-foreign Prince of Orange, the personal ambition of these nobles, the opposition between Catholic and Protestant, all helped to bring about a separation between South and North. While the South under Parma's influence submitted to the king, the North turned away from him for good. The Unions of Arras in the South and Utrecht in the North, the abjuration of Philip in 1581, the fall of Antwerp in 1585, the appearance of the States-General as the ruling power in the North alone,—these were the chief points in the process of separation. Then the North fought alone for its independence, and developed into a federative republic, free, strong, and flourishing. The South became an appendix of the Spanish and later of the Austrian monarchy, paralysed, enslaved, neglected, the battle-field of Europe, a pale shadow of its brilliant past. The peace of Münster sealed the independence of the North, which for a century ranked with the great powers. The same peace sealed also the paralysis of the South.

Having lived beyond its time, the republic came to an end in 1795 through domestic dissensions, and just then the South began to awake from its long sleep. The European crisis of the French Revolution and Napoleonic era made South and North share the fate of France. First the South in 1794 and then the North in 1810 were incorporated with France. The battles of Leipsic and Waterloo liberated both, and the will of the great powers joined them together, or rather—for that was the actual relation—united Belgium to the territory of the old re-

public. But the union proved ill-assorted. Over two centuries of differing history had estranged North and South. King William I. could not make the two halves of his kingdom grow together. The Revolution of 1830 brought about a separation again, the Northern Netherlands becoming a continuation of the republic, and the Southern Netherlands forming the kingdom of Belgium.

Thus the history of the Dutch people has developed itself, and may be divided into seven periods:

1st, the period of the most ancient times, ending with the complete development of the feudal states in the fourteenth century;

2d, the period of Burgundian power, ending in the last half of the sixteenth century;

3d, the period of the Eighty Years' war, ending in 1648;

4th, the period of the republic, which fell in 1795;

5th, the transition period of French influence until 1815;

6th, the period of the kingdom of the United Netherlands until 1830;

7th, the period of the history of Holland after the separation from Belgium.

This work purposes to trace the history of the Dutch people through these periods. In the writer's opinion, a beginning must always be made with the political history. State and people are inseparable ideas, for the state is the form in which the people have become organised. Political history and the history of civilisation can not be regarded each in itself as the history of a people. A political history which leaves out civilisation—art, letters, religion, and morals—moves within a limited sphere, comprising only a part of the life of the people. A history of civilisation that neglects politics, mistakes the very nature of historical development, which so often shows the civilisation of a people standing in close rela-

tion to its political importance and drawing strength and life from it. No mere chance causes the most flourishing period of the art, literature, and national spirit of Holland to coincide with that of its greatness as a European power. Such a history of society as the author wishes to write embraces all the manifestations of the life of the people, the political history as well as the history of civilisation, commerce, industry, agriculture, navigation, law, and economic development. To the history of the Dutch people in the widest sense, this work is devoted. It is not enough for the history of the people to know the evolution of Holland as a state, to explain its present civilisation from the past. Our time asks of the historian with ever greater emphasis: How has our *society* become what it is? The answer to this question is not easily given. Few in number are the studies directed to this end; manifold are the subjects which the writer of such a history must have investigated. But with courage the author wishes to strive for the great goal. *Lotis manibus*, with clean hands, he sets to work, desiring to remain free from the prejudice of party, to cast out whatever is untrue and impure, resting upon critically sifted tradition, endeavouring to lift the veil that hides the image of truth, —the image of the proud goddess, severe in lines, earnest of countenance.





CHAPTER I

THE EARLIEST NETHERLANDERS

SOME parts of the Netherlands must have been inhabited at a very early period. On the banks of the Meuse and Lesse men lived centuries ago in caves, amid natural surroundings much like the present polar regions. The reindeer and mammoth were their contemporaries on the ice, which once covered the country and which has left its marks in the ground. Perhaps the savage inhabitants belonged to a race whose descendants now exist in the Finns and Basques. During centuries those men must have dwelt here, hunting and fishing in their struggle for life, as arduous for them as for the long series of tribes and races coming after them. Rude stone weapons and implements, with a few bones of man and his prey, are all that is left of them—the slight traces of a primitive state of civilisation.

We know more about the Celtic tribes, that came some centuries before our era into Western Europe, probably from the north-east, than about the prehistoric cave-dwellers, the short-skulled hunters of the reindeer and mammoth. The Indo-Germanic Celts drove the old, perhaps half-Mongolian, inhabitants north and south before them and settled in the vacated lands. They came also into the countries on the North Sea, where they were still to be met in Roman times. The Celts there found a climate better adapted to man than that of the earlier

glacial period. The masses of ice had melted away and left such traces as the numerous stones, which had been torn from the Scandinavian cliffs and carried off by glaciers to become part of their moraines. Rivers like the Rhine, Meuse, Scheldt, and Ems had formed their beds in the rough, and were depositing silt at their mouths. This process had lasted for centuries. Sea and rivers, perhaps volcanic action as well, had worked unceasingly at the formation of the ground, upon which rose stately forests peopled with wild beasts, the bear, wolf, urus, fox, boar, and deer. It would be difficult to picture the country just as it looked at any particular time, so constant were the changes. No dikes bridled the waters, no human hand regulated their outflow or the growth of the woods. The dunes alone, heaved up from the sand-banks on the low coast, opposed the sea, a weak bulwark for the country behind them, where the water of the rivers too had as good as free play.

Is it strange that the Celts left almost no trace in much of the North Sea country? Or, are the Celts perhaps the mysterious architects of those ancient monuments, the giants' graves or dolmens, which may be seen chiefly in the province of Drenthe, but occasionally elsewhere? The wandering boulders of Scandinavia, dropped by the glaciers, furnished the sturdy natives with materials for these graves, wherein they laid the remains of their dead. A circle of stones, a sort of chamber within, formed by larger stones with others covering them,—such was the simple tomb, in which were placed the bodies or the urns containing their ashes, and near by weapons of stone and metal, earthen vessels, and ornaments worn by the departed. From these objects, it appears that this method of sepulture prevailed until the Christian era and possibly later. The occurrence of stone implements and weapons with those of bronze and iron indicates a succession of peoples who all buried their dead in this manner. The

Stone Age was followed by a time when bronze was the material used, and afterwards iron was introduced, especially by the Romans. It is not improbable that the Celts built these graves and were thus the "giants," to whom later generations superstitiously attributed the mighty sepulchral monuments. The successors of the Celts, the Germans, may also have made giants' graves, though it was only in imitation of their predecessors.

As the Celts crowded out the older races, so, later, the Germans, in their waggons like true nomads, migrated into Central Europe from the north-east, coming probably, as the philologists believe, from the shores of the Baltic. Names of places, only to be explained by the Celtic language, show the parts of Germany, from which the Celts were expelled by the Germans, aided perhaps by such natural convulsions as the "Cimbrian flood," a legendary reminiscence of that ancient time when a much larger section of the globe was covered with water. The celebrated traveller, Pytheas of Massilia (330 B.C.), contemporary with Alexander the Great, found German tribes on the "amber coast" of the North Sea, but not south of the mouth of the Rhine. When the Romans appeared on the Rhine toward the beginning of our era, the Germans had reached that river and driven the Celts far across it to the south and to Britain. The Rhine was still in general the boundary between the two peoples. North of the river and on the islands at its mouth dwelt, according to Cæsar, Pliny, and Tacitus, the Germanic tribes of the Batavians, Caninefates, Sturii, Frisians, and Chauci. On the Rhine, east of the Batavians, were the Tencteri, Usipetes, Chamavi, Sigambri, and Bructeri. Across the Rhine and the Meuse, some advanced guards of the Germans were already to be found, as the Eburones, Condrusi, Pæmani, and Cæræsi, small tribes subject to their Gallic neighbours of German admixture, to the Aduatuci and Treveri. While Germans and Celts

thus lived together on the Meuse, farther south and west all was still Celtic. Across the Meuse were the Menapii in North Brabant, the Morini on the Flemish coast, the Nervii in Hainaut, Brabant, and Flanders, the Atrebates around Arras, belonging to the Belgian Gauls almost everywhere mixed with Germans.

These inhabitants, Gauls and Germans, Cæsar found here, when, in 57 B.C., he first brought the Roman arms into Northern Gaul. Both peoples are sketched by the Romans, by Cæsar himself. On his arrival in the country, he had heard of the conflict waged for centuries between the Gauls and the Germans ever pushing across the Rhine, of that opposition between the two races which comes down through the history of Western Europe to our own time. The Gauls in Cæsar's day had long occupied fixed settlements. Their tribes formed aristocratic little republics, with or without a "king," and with a numerous nobility holding the mass of the people in a species of slavery like the old chiefs of the Scottish clans. Great influence was exerted also by the Druids, priests of a mystical and bloody religion requiring even human sacrifices, who were, besides, the judges and educated men of the land. Lug, the Gallic Mercury, was the chief god, and Mars, Minerva, Apollo, and Jupiter are mentioned—Roman names for the corresponding Gallic gods, together with Ogmius, the god of speech with club and bow, the terrible Esus, and the monstrous Cernunnos with the stag's antlers. Hunting and cattle-raising were, in addition to agriculture, the principal support of the Celts. Communication by land and water was well developed, roads and bridges connecting the numerous walled towns. Laws existed in all the states, which were quite independent, unless they had placed themselves under the guidance of some powerful neighbour or joined a league. In Cæsar's time there were three of these leagues: the Belgian, Armorican, and Central Gallic leagues. The

farther one went from the Roman province, the less became the civilisation of the Celtic tribes. The northern, or Belgian confederacy was the strongest, but also the most uncivilised—the genuine *Galli comati*, or long-haired Gauls, as the Romans called them. There, under the lead of the Treveri, Bellovaci, and Aduatuci, war was incessantly carried on with the Germans. There lived the Nervii, hostile to foreign traders, and the swine-raising Menapii, like savages amid their impenetrable forests and morasses. Cæsar's account of the half-civilisation of the Gauls applies least to the Celtic tribes in the southern section of the Netherlands. The level of their civilisation was perhaps little higher than that of the neighbouring Germans.

The Belgians thought themselves far ahead of these Germans, and felt towards them as the Javanese feels towards the Dyak and Alfur. They were not altogether wrong. The Germans were mostly nomads still, wandering about like their forefathers. The Batavians remembered in the first century after Christ, that their tribe, not so long before, had come down the Rhine to settle at its mouth. As genuine nomads, the Germans lived almost wholly by hunting and fishing; agriculture was little known or esteemed by them, the raising of cattle somewhat more; and trade and industry stood at a low ebb. Each Teutonic tribe was independent and generally hostile to the others, as is usual among barbarians. In the temporary territory of the migratory tribe, were to be found a larger or smaller number of hundreds, unions of a hundred or more families. The private ownership of land was in Cæsar's time unknown to them. The authorities distributed the arable land of the mark among the groups of families, while pasture and wood remained in common, the herds grazing undivided in the pasture, each man chopping his share in the wood. After a year, or after the ground cultivated by the slaves and women

had become exhausted, the entire tribe moved off to new fields. It is evident that the dwellings of such wanderers could be little better than mud huts, that cities no more existed among them than among the Bedouins or the American Indians, and that with such ways of living, Germany must have been but scantily populated. Who will tell us how long this nomadic existence continued? Who, otherwise than upon the wings of fancy, can picture Teutonic society in that remote age, when woman, as the real propagator of the race, stood higher in the family than the man? Unquestionably this right of the mother prevailed in the youth of the Germanic peoples and shaped their customs, state, and family life. With the Germans, as with the Gauls, the nobility was powerful, although the free German, proud of his independence—his greatest wealth—did not stand in the position of a slave to the nobleman, but rather honoured him voluntarily on account of his birth. The free people are here of more consequence. The men of rank manage minor matters; important affairs are discussed in the assembly of the people. A leader is placed at the head of the tribe in case of war, and here and there kings are found with power not definitely fixed. The religion of the Germans was less mystical than that of the Gauls. They had no priestly caste, only a small number of separate priests, each *civitas* or tribe having its own priest. Among the gods, which with different tribes often bear different names, Wodan and Donar are everywhere foremost. Human sacrifices are offered to the former. Wodan, or Odin, the god of heaven and storms, with the sky-blue mantle and the sun for his eye; red-bearded Donar, or Thor, the god of thunder and lightning, rattling through the air in his car, and throwing his terrible hammer that always returns to him; Tius, the god of war; Tuisco and Mannus, gods of the morning light and ancestors of the German race; Nerthus, the goddess of the warm summer,

whose local name in Zealand was perhaps Nehalennia; Fro, the god of summer, who rides on his wild boar over the full ears of corn; many motherly goddesses, the *matres* or *matronæ*, appearing hundreds of times upon the monuments of Roman times; Freya, who watches over the spinning of the maids in winter, punishes the idlers, and rewards the industrious ones—these all people the Teutonic world of the gods. The principal divinities are honoured by festivals connected with nature herself, spring, harvest, and winter festivals, relics of which may still be found in some old customs and games of Christian holidays. Most of the German gods have the character of personified natural phenomena. They are worshipped preferably in the open forest. To the German mind, wood and water are inhabited by spirits and elves; every tree, stream, pool, and bush has its divinity, or, so to speak, its soul.

The Germans, at the beginning of the Christian era, were in a state of nature. Their usual clothing, as among savages, consisted of the skins of beasts, equipped with terror-inspiring horns and heads. The rich and the women already showed traces of civilisation, such as more luxurious dress, elegant mantle-clasps, and bracelets. With the vices of uncivilised peoples,—rapacity, the love of drink, fighting, and gambling,—the Germans possessed also their virtues—honesty, fidelity, chastity, hospitality, and bravery. They were divided into three chief races: the Ingævones, on the sea, the Herminones, in the interior, and the Istævones, between the Rhine and the Weser. The Frisians and Chauci on the North Sea coast are numbered among the first, the other German tribes of the Netherlands among the last.

Such were the Netherlanders when the Romans appeared in these northern lands—compared with the cultured southron who came to subdue them, half or complete barbarians, both outwardly and inwardly.



CHAPTER II

THE ROMAN DOMINION

THE victorious Roman eagle, which had gradually spread its wings over all the countries around the Mediterranean, appeared also, under the republic's most famous general, Caius Julius Cæsar, in the more remote parts of Gaul. In the second year of his Gallic campaigns (57 B.C.), he marched rapidly with eight legions (forty or fifty thousand men) through the territory of the Remi, northwards, against the Belgian league. From the Remi he received the first real information concerning the Belgians, who had allied themselves with the Germans on the left of the Rhine under the lead of Galba, the king of the powerful Bellovaci, relying upon the two hundred thousand men whom this and the neighbouring peoples could place at his disposition.

Without delay, the Roman conqueror met and defeated the enemy in a sharp battle on the Aisne. The Belgæ dispersed to their homes. First the Bellovaci and their neighbours, then the fierce Nervii, felt the force of the Roman sword. The latter were almost exterminated in an obstinate conflict on the Sambre near Maubeuge, hardly five hundred surviving of their sixty thousand men. They had fought desperately without yielding an inch, climbing upon the heaps of their slain to strike at the Romans from above. A like fate befell the Aduatuci, whose last refuge near Huy on the Meuse was captured

by the Romans after an arduous siege, the whole population to the number of thirty-three thousand being sold as slaves—the remains of the proud people that boasted of descending from the ancient Cimbrians. The destruction of the two greatest tribes quelled the Belgians temporarily, and even Germans from over the Rhine came to offer their submission.

Then the victor turned his attention to the Gauls on the shores of the ocean. Not until the autumn of the next year (56 B.C.), did an expedition appear necessary against the Morini, in Flanders, and the Menapii, in Northern Brabant, the only Gauls thereabout unsubdued. At the approach of the Romans, these people retreated into their extensive forests and swamps, inaccessible at certain seasons, and the conquerors had to go away without accomplishing their object. While Cæsar moved his legions south into winter quarters, the Roman dominion in Gaul was threatened with a new danger from the direction of the Rhine. The entire German tribes of the Tencteri and Usipetes, over four hundred thousand souls, in their search for new homes, pushed into the country of the Menapii and terrified all Northern Gaul. Early in the spring of 55 B.C., Cæsar succeeded in driving them back over the Rhine, about where that river and the Meuse come together. Farther south, probably at Xanten on the Rhine, the general built a bridge over the river, made a short incursion into Germany, and then betook himself to the sea-coast to prepare an expedition into Britain. The Morini took advantage of Cæsar's absence in Britain to rise and impede his return, but they were soon subdued. The Menapii, however, defended themselves two years longer in their forests, and yielded then only to Cæsar himself with an army of five legions.

For years, the Belgians were little to be trusted. The Eburones, imagining themselves safe in their swamps and forests behind the wild Ardennes, managed in 54 B.C., un-

der the lead of Ambiorix and Catuvolcus, first, to destroy the detachments in their midst, then, with the aid of the surviving Aduatuci and Nervii, to surround a whole legion in the neighbourhood of Namur. With siege-towers, scaling-ladders, and other military apparatus, the use of which they had speedily learned from the Romans, they regularly besieged the corps commanded by the famous Cicero's brother and brought it to the verge of destruction, when finally Cæsar heard of the perilous situation of his countrymen. With two incomplete legions, he hastened to their relief and put to flight the enemy eight times stronger than his force. In the following year the Eburones and their confederates were severely punished and almost annihilated; their lands were laid waste, and they were hunted down like wild beasts. After this fashion, was subdued the country of the Belgæ, including much of the present Belgium. Large tribes were destroyed, whole districts depopulated and ravaged, respect for Rome's might was bloodily impressed upon Belgians and Germans. Cæsar's wars bring the earliest accurate information about the Gallic and Teutonic forefathers of the Dutch people, though this information is limited chiefly to the southern section of what was later called the Netherlands.

After the conquests of Cæsar, the Rhine is the frontier of the Roman power. In the Netherlands, Cæsar never crossed the Rhine. What he knew of the Batavians—that they were Germans and lived on the islands formed by the Waal, Meuse, and Rhine—he heard from their neighbours or their own ambassadors. The subjugation of Northern Gaul was here and there very superficial, and repeated insurrections occurred. After Cæsar's death, the civil wars prevented Rome from doing much in this country, and not until their end could the Emperor Augustus think of organising the province. About 15 B.C., Gallia Belgica became a separate province under an

imperial governor, and then commenced a mingling of the old and the Roman civilisations. The old division into districts remained as the basis of the new government, Rheims being the capital of Gallia Belgica, and Lugdunum (Lyons) that of all Gaul. Druidism, dangerous to the foreign dominion because it was national, was replaced so far as possible by the worship of the gods of Rome. Tiberius and Claudius prohibited the old religion, so that it retreated to the woods and mountains and sought in deep secrecy to retain some of its former power over the people. The language of the country began to be superseded by Latin. The officials and legionaries in the cities, and later in the country, where many of the latter settled down after their discharge, contributed much to the Romanising of Gaul, which went on rapidly in the north-east. Just in that section on the Rhine, important events happened when Gaul was organised.

Cæsar had limited himself to two short expeditions against the Germans across the Rhine, but under Augustus it appeared necessary, for the security of the Roman position on the left bank of the river, both to display more strength there and to inspire the Germans of the other side with respect for Rome. The celebrated Agrippa had difficulty in holding the Rhine; a whole legion under Lollius went down before the plundering Sigambri, Tencteri, and Usipetes; and, warned by this disaster, Augustus resolved to settle matters once for all upon the frontier. His step-son, Drusus, as governor of Gaul, came to the river boundary in 13 B.C., prevented a new raid of the Germans, and punished them severely in their own territory. About this time, it seems, must be placed the final alliance of the Batavians, Caninefates, and Frisians with the Romans. They were not subdued by force, but bound themselves more or less willingly to Rome, afterwards furnishing auxiliary troops to her army, the Batavians being relieved of all other burdens, while the

Frisians had to supply a certain number of hides every year. These tribes belonged to the so-called *socii*, subject to Rome, governed by Roman officials, and no longer free Germans like those between the Rhine and Elbe. The Batavians, famed for their excellent cavalry, were among the most faithful servants of the Roman power; their soldiers formed a considerable part of the imperial body-guard under Augustus; and they were to be found in the posts of greatest danger—in the distant fields of Pannonia and Illyria, on the Danube, the German frontier, and in Britain. The island where they lived was the rendezvous of the Romans for their expeditions into Germany. Though less trusted, the Frisians also stood by the Romans for centuries.

The island of the Batavians, the *Insula Batavorum*, was admirably situated for a base of operations. At the mouth of the great rivers of Northern Gaul, fleets could be assembled there, with which to ravage the coasts of Germany or to transport troops there and to Britain. The Caninefates, farther west, on what is now the Dutch coast, with the Batavians of the same tribe, were good sailors, as also were the Frisians, Sturii, and Chauci, settled northward upon the coast. They lived on the islands, now a part of the mainland, where the Frisian race is still scattered, then exposed to ebb and flood and protected by no dikes or water-works. The Batavians were little better off upon their marshy island, and it is surprising in so small a territory to find a population capable of placing a corps of nine or ten thousand men, besides scattered bands, at the disposal of the Romans. In civilisation, these tribes did not surpass their neighbours. The fierce, stern, stupid Batavian, ridiculed by the Roman poet, Martial, for his *auris Batava*, may have been brave and faithful, but he was not a model of culture. The country north of the Rhine owes much to the Romans. Drusus began laying out canals and dikes here, and people

continue to guess at their location without sufficient data to solve the riddle. Along these canals he took his fleet in 12 B.C. to the North Sea coast, captured the island of Burchanis (Borkum), built a fort on the Ems, fought the Bructeri, and probably reached the Weser. He was the first Roman to become acquainted with the perils of the North Sea, and on the return voyage his ships ran upon shoals and were with difficulty rescued by the Frisians. The subsequent expeditions of Drusus to the interior of Germany were also undertaken from the Netherlands; the "old camp" of the Romans, *Castra Vetera*, near Xanten, was doubtless, with the island of the Batavians, the basis of his military operations, which ended in 9 B.C. with his death by a fall from his horse. His brother Tiberius, afterwards the emperor, continued his work.

No less than fifty fortresses were built by Drusus on the Rhine, from the *caput Germaniæ* at its mouth, known as *Lugdunum Batavorum*,¹ to the upper Rhine. These fortresses were the camps of the legions, soon eight in number, that were to subdue Germany. The Elbe was the border of the new province acquired by Drusus. Tiberius organised the province of Germany with Colonia Agrippina (Cologne) as its capital. Roman military roads were constructed, fortifications thrown up; over the northern swamps, wooden bridges, *pontes longi*, were built, traces of which are believed to have been discovered in Drenthe and elsewhere. After Tiberius, governors were appointed, who had many a little revolt to put down. In 9 A.D., Publius Quintilius Varus was invested with the governorship of Germany,—an incompetent general but a hard master. Against him was turned the rising of the oppressed Germans led by

¹ This can hardly be other than the so-called *Brittenburg*, the remains of which lie far out in the sea at Katwijk and only appear at very low water. See P. J. Blok, *Eene Hollandsche Stad in de Middeleeuwen*, p. 3 seq.

Arminius. The destruction of Varus's three legions in the Teutoburg forest is written in letters of blood in the history of Rome, but the scene of the battle has not yet been certainly identified. The Batavians and Frisians took no part in this insurrection, but remained faithful to Rome.

Not until five years later did Germanicus, Drusus's heroic son, feel strong enough to push deep into Germany to avenge Varus. In the memorable campaigns of Germanicus (14-16 A.D.), Batavians and Frisians helped, perhaps also the tribes on the Meuse and Scheldt. The Frisians, in 15, conducted the Roman cavalry to the Ems, while the fleet sailed along their coast. The campaign of vengeance was not altogether a success. Germanicus reached the place of Varus's defeat and erected a memorial there, but on the way back he was hard pressed by the hosts of Arminius, and at the Ems his fear of the shoals forced him to divide the army, embarking himself with a small portion upon the fleet, sending two legions under Publius Vitellius along the sea-coast towards the Rhine, and another section under Cæcina farther south. Cæcina was again assailed by the enemy, and with difficulty and severe losses reached at last the Rhine. The fleet encountered heavy storms. The two legions of Vitellius, including the Batavians, were overtaken on the coast by a flood, and Tacitus¹ gives a graphic picture of their dangerous plight, from which they only escaped, with the loss of their baggage, by getting upon the dunes.

"Vitellius at first pursued his route without interruption, having a dry shore, or the waves coming in gently. After a while, through the force of the north wind and the equinoctial season, when the sea swells to its highest, his army was driven and tossed hither and thither. The country too was flooded; sea, shore, fields, presented one aspect, nor could the treacher-

¹ Tacitus, *Annales*, i., 70. Translated by Church and Brodribb, p. 35.

ous quicksands be distinguished from solid ground or shallows from deep water. Men were swept away by the waves or sucked under by eddies ; beasts of burden, baggage, lifeless bodies, floated about and blocked their way. The companies were mingled in confusion, now with the breast, now with the head only, above water, sometimes losing their footing and parted from their comrades or drowned. The voice of mutual encouragement availed not against the adverse force of the waves. There was nothing to distinguish the brave from the coward, the prudent from the careless, forethought from chance ; the same strong power swept everything before it. At last Vitellius struggled out to higher ground and led his men up to it."

In the great campaign of the next year the Batavians also took part, their cohorts being joined to the fourteenth Roman legion. Germanicus had collected a fleet of a thousand ships at the island of the Batavians. This fleet went through Drusus's canal and the lakes to the Ems, and from there the army moved on to the Weser, to attack Arminius posted on the other side of this river. The Batavian horse, commanded by Chariovalda, swam over the stream, but were received by a superior force of the enemy, and driven back after a hot fight with the loss of their leader and many men. Soon the Romans crossed the river, and defeated the enemy in an obstinate battle. On the return voyage to the Rhine, the fleet was again overtaken by a violent storm and destroyed. Some of the rescued crews suffered great hardships on the desert islands ; many soldiers were killed by the wild dwellers along the coast or sold for slaves ; and others were carried off by the storm as far as Britain. Germanicus with his ship reached the country of the Chauci, and from there collected his scattered troops, not appearing upon the Rhine until late in the autumn. The inhospitable and unsafe shores of the Netherlands deeply impressed the Romans, as is evident from the narrative of Tacitus, who

cannot find words sufficient to paint the terrors of the North Sea coast, and mentions the sea-monsters and frightful water-birds, with which the bewildered imagination of the legionaries peopled the waves.

Soon afterwards the brave Germanicus was recalled by the emperor, jealous of his fame; and thus ended the attempts of the Romans to extend their dominion over the Rhine. Thenceforth, small expeditions from the Rhine seemed enough to curb the rapacious Germans, the more so as Arminius, the great Cheruscan, who had so successfully fought the hated Romans, fell a victim to assassination in 20 A.D., breaking the bond in Germany that held the tribes together. On the Rhine, Rome remained the master. A broad strip of ground, where all dwelling was forbidden, on the right bank of this river, the *limes*, or frontier, separated Romans from Germans. Across the river rose, on the left bank, numerous wooden or stone Roman watch-towers and camps, where the frontier legions were stationed. The whole country from the mouths of the Scheldt to Alsace was, after the defeat of Varus, constituted a military province under the name of Germania, and divided into Germania Superior and Inferior, Upper and Lower Germany, each having an independent general at its head. The civil government was administered also by this general, who usually had under him in each district four legions, about twenty-five thousand men,—afterwards half that number. The headquarters in Lower Germany were *Castra Vetera*, and the chief other camps were *Bonna*, *Colonia Agrippina* (Cologne), *Noviomagus* (Nimwegen), and *Lugdunum Batavorum*. In Upper Germany, besides the headquarters at *Mogontiacum* (Mainz), garrisons were to be found at *Argentoratum* (Strasburg), and *Vindonissa* (Windisch). Protected by the legions, colonists, often old legionaries, settled down in the country and established Roman colonies, centres of trade and development, *Treves*, *Cologne*,

Nimwegen, St. Quentin, and other cities having been thus originally inhabited by Roman citizens.

Notwithstanding the strong force near at hand, the Romans were not always successful in keeping the Frisians subdued. Oppressed by the *primipilaris* Olennius, the Frisians rebelled in 28, killed the soldiers and officials scattered over their land, and laid siege to the fortress of Flevum, with its Roman garrison. A legion sent to relieve it suffered a terrible defeat in the Frisian morasses; smaller bands were cut down in the Baduhenna wood and near the villa of an old soldier. The success of the Frisians inspired a rising of their neighbours, the Chauci, whose ships rendered the Gallic coast unsafe, until, under Claudius, almost twenty years later, the governor of Lower Germany, Corbulo, sought them out over the shoals with a fleet and reduced them to submission. The Frisians, also, were then subjected and placed under a regular Roman government. A story told by Tacitus shows the Frisians as allies of Rome. Under Nero, two Frisian "kings," Verritus and Malorix, appeared in Rome to complain of the expulsion of their countrymen from land on the Rhine. Visiting the theatre, they saw barbarians sitting in the place of honour, and, with the applause of the multitude, they demanded the like privilege, since nobody surpassed the Germans in prowess and fidelity to Rome. Nero bestowed Roman citizenship upon them both.

About the middle of the century, other Netherlandish tribes, both Gauls and Germans, began to display dangerous symptoms of uneasiness. The presence of the legions on the Rhine prevented, for the time being, an open revolt. Even the Batavians, although they fought in Britain and remained faithful during the insurrection of Julius Vindex in Gaul, found fault with the harsh treatment of their countrymen by the Roman officers. The confusion in Rome just before Nero's death (68) furnished an oppor-

tunity of throwing off the unbearable yoke. An eminent Batavian, Julius or Claudius Civilis, whose long service in war caused the Romans to make him a citizen, had serious grievances against Nero for imprisoning his brother and himself on a charge of treason and having the former executed. Nero had summoned the Batavian cohorts with the fourteenth legion from Britain to Italy, when a new rebellion broke out in Gaul. The Batavians immediately deserted Nero to join, first, his opponent, Galba, who had liberated Civilis, but later, after some hesitation, Aulus Vitellius, the governor of Lower Germany, proclaimed emperor by the legions on the Rhine. With some of these troops they proceeded to Italy, and defeated the forces of the rival emperor, Otho, at Bedriacum, where they were matched against their former comrades of the fourteenth legion, who had espoused the cause of Otho. After Otho's suicide, Vitellius sent them back to Britain, but quarrels springing up between them and their old legion, the Batavians were separated and ordered to Germany.

On their way to Germany the cohorts, discontented with their treatment, were invited by Vespasian, made emperor in the East as the competitor of Vitellius, to join his party. At the same time, Vitellius commanded them to return to Italy to fight against the approaching Vespasian. New levies among the Batavians were to fill up their decimated ranks. Under these circumstances, Civilis and the majority of his countrymen, weary of the Roman dominion, resolved to accept the proposals of Vespasian's party. In the disorders of the empire there might be a chance of recovering their lost independence. The severity with which the Roman officers set to work in the new conscription of the Batavians turned the scales in favour of this plan, and Civilis succeeded in persuading his countrymen, soon also the neighbouring Caninefates and Frisians, to cast off Vitellius.

Fortunately the relation of most of these events has been rescued from the shipwreck overwhelming so many works of antiquity. Tacitus, one of Rome's greatest historians, gives a detailed account of the two years of the revolt, 69 and 70 A.D.¹ After Vitellius's departure, the Roman legions on the Rhine were under the command of the old and weak governor of Upper Germany, Hordeonius Flaccus, who perhaps—like many of his officers and men—was a secret adherent of Vespasian. His troops were much reduced, Vitellius having taken away the best of them, and the void was hastily filled by raw recruits. The occasion for an uprising was therefore excellent, and Civilis had little difficulty in inspiring his countrymen to rebel by the famous harangue at the banquet in the sacred grove, recorded by Tacitus.²

“When he saw them warmed with the festivities of the night, he began by speaking of the renown and glory of the race, and then went on to enlarge on the wrongs and the violence which they endured, and on all the evils of their enslaved condition : ‘We,’ he said, ‘are not treated as allies, as once we were ; we are treated as slaves. When does even a legate come among us, though he come only with a burdensome retinue and in all the haughtiness of power ? We are handed over to prefects and centurions, and when they are glutted with our spoils and our blood, then they are changed, and new receptacles for plunder, new terms for spoliation, are discovered. Now the conscription is at hand, tearing, we may say, for ever children from parents, and brothers from brothers. Never has the power of Rome been more depressed. In the winter quarters of the legions there is nothing but property to plunder and a few old men. Only dare to look up, and cease to tremble at the empty names of legions. For we have a vast force of horse and foot ; we have the Germans our kinsmen ; we have

¹ Tacitus, *Historiæ*, iv., 12-37, 54-79 ; v., 14-26. Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v., 107 *et seq.*

² Tacitus, *Historiæ*, iv., 14. Translated by Church and Brodribb, p. 202.

Gaul, bent on the same objects. Even to the Roman people this war will not be displeasing; if defeated, we shall still reckon it a service to Vespasian, and for success no account need be rendered.' "

Civilis's plan was accepted with acclamation. The Caninefates joined him. The island of the Batavians was speedily abandoned by the Romans, the troops firing their wooden forts as they quitted them. For a time the *primipilaris* Aquilius held out in the eastern part of the island, but soon his Gaulish and German bands went over to the insurgents, and the Rhine flotilla was played into Civilis's hands by the Batavians mostly manning it. Civilis summoned the Batavian cohorts from Upper Germany, others from Britain, and he urged at once the neighbouring Gauls and Germans to raise with him the standard of revolt. The Germans willingly gave ear to him, while the Gauls took an expectant attitude. Relying upon his Germans, Civilis now laid siege to *Castra Vetera*, the chief stronghold of Lower Germany, defended by two legions numbering scarcely five thousand men. What could they accomplish against Civilis's numerous tribes, soon re-enforced by the disciplined Batavian cohorts, who had defeated a legion from Bonna on the way? The Romans by their civilisation still surpassed the Germans. The feebly garrisoned *Vetera* defended itself successfully against the host of the barbarians, who showed slight acquaintance with the Roman art of besieging. Soon Flaccus approached with his whole force, placing his advanced guard under his lieutenant, *Vocula*, at *Gelduba*, some hours distant from *Vetera*, and encamping himself farther away. Five incomplete legions and Gallic auxiliaries seemed a redoubtable foe for Civilis to meet, but their operations were much hampered by mutual mistrust, quarrels between the partisans of the rival emperors, the commander's weakness, and the growing insubordination.

Meanwhile Vespasian triumphed over Vitellius in Italy. In the winter of 69, it was all over with the latter, and the Rhine legions now acknowledged the conqueror as their master. Civilis, thus losing his pretext for revolt, was compelled to come out openly and preach rebellion, no longer against Vitellius, but against the might of Rome itself. At Vetera it became more and more evident that the Germans, no matter how numerous, were not a match for regular Roman troops. After an unsuccessful attack of the rebels upon the camp at Gelduba, Vocola penetrated to the beleaguered place. Civilis had to give up the siege. A mutiny among Vocola's troops, however, turned fortune in favour of the Germans again. Hordeonius Flaccus was murdered by his own soldiers, Vocola escaped a like fate only by flight, and all Germany was soon in the greatest confusion. This critical state of affairs for Rome made, at last, the cautious Gauls venture upon rebellion. They had so long experienced nothing but hostility from the Germans that they had not hitherto felt inclined to join them against Rome. But Civilis's successes and other events seemed to promise a happy ending. With the beginning of 70, when the burning of the Capitol in the Eternal City apparently portended that Rome's power was doomed, the Treveri, Lingones, Tungri, and other half-German Gauls united to form a new Gallic empire. During Vocola's march to the relief of Vetera, a large part of the Gallic auxiliaries went over to the enemy, and shut up Vocola himself in Novesium (Neuss), where the Romans delivered the unfortunate general to the insurgents. He was atrociously murdered. The Roman soldiers—to the shame of the Roman name—even swore allegiance to Julius Classicus of the Treveri, who had put himself at the head of the new Gallic empire. Now the exhausted garrison of Vetera finally succumbed, and even Mogontiacum surrendered. All Germany was lost to the Romans!

The relation between the "new Gauls" and Civilis, with his Germans, was not cordial. Centuries of strife between the two races had made too great a chasm to be bridged over even by their common hatred of Rome. Civilis and the Gallic leaders merely consulted together about destroying the Roman camps. Vetera was burned, after the remainder of its brave defenders had been slain by the barbarians despite Civilis's efforts to prevent the slaughter. Colonia Agrippina and its Roman-loving Ubii were saved from destruction by Civilis and the sorceress Veleda, whose voices alone seemed to have any influence over the wild Germans. In Gaul, also, the state of affairs left much to be desired. The Gallic empire of the Treveri had little success even there, and the chief districts of the interior and of Western Belgica continued faithful to Rome. Soon Rome was to show that it had only gone through a dangerous crisis, and still lived. In the spring of 70, appeared no less than nine legions, besides a British fleet and numerous foreign auxiliaries, on the Rhine, commanded by the able Petilius Cerialis. He received into favour the Roman legions that had deserted; from all sides fugitives joined him; and even some Gallic and German tribes submitted at once. The capital of the "new Gaul," Augusta Treverorum (Treves), was taken after a short engagement. The Gallic empire fell at the first blow, disappearing as suddenly as it had arisen.

Civilis with his Germans still proved himself a dangerous adversary. Unexpectedly he pounced upon Treves, recaptured it, and only the love of his undisciplined bands for plunder prevented his inflicting a severe defeat upon the Romans. Cerialis recovered from the first shock, and finally repulsed the attack. The Caninefates had better luck, destroying the fleet sent to their shores and beating back the Nervii, who had returned to their allegiance to Rome. The last great battle was to be fought around Vetera, whither Civilis had gone from Treves.

For two days the combat was waged with heroic bravery, but at length Civilis was outflanked and had to give way. He retreated to his island, where he attempted to save himself by cutting the Drusus dikes. But soon the Romans got possession of four fortresses on or near the island, and Civilis in vain besieged them. Cerialis kept them, and presently came with a fleet to assail Civilis. The Germans managed to seize upon this fleet in a night attack; even Cerialis's ship fell into their hands, and the general himself had a narrow escape; but the contest was in the long run too unequal. Cerialis quickly penetrated into the island of the Batavians and ravaged it terribly, with a not uncommon stratagem sparing Civilis's property to cast suspicion on him with his countrymen. The Batavian leader fled over the Rhine into Germany. Cerialis was not yet at the end. His situation in September, 70, on the island turned into a morass by the autumnal rains, without provisions, was not brilliant. Though Civilis had been driven from his own country, he stood with a by no means contemptible force on the Nabalia, a river usually considered as the Yssel. So Cerialis began to negotiate with the Batavians, with the venerated Velede, and with Civilis himself. The latter was not unwilling to accept his propositions, and had an interview with him upon a broken bridge over the Nabalia,—in the beginning of which our authority, Tacitus, forsakes us. The rest of the great historian's book is lost. A few lines before the end he says, "a capitulation followed in a few days." What became of Civilis, and of the famous sorceress on the banks of the Lippe? The curtain has fallen, no answer is possible, history is suddenly silent. From later accounts we can only make out that the Batavians and other tribes of the country remained in about the same relation to Rome after as before the rising.

Thus the attempt of the Batavians and Frisians, supported by their free brethren across the Rhine, to throw

off the Roman yoke was a complete failure. All they probably obtained was better treatment from their powerful "allies." The Batavians and Frisians served as before in the Roman armies. Inscriptions and some later historians preserve the memory of the warlike deeds of these forefathers of the Dutch. The same authorities tell us one thing and another about the condition of the country in succeeding centuries. It appears that until about the middle of the fourth century, at least, the Rhine was considered and defended as the frontier of the Roman dominion. Across the Rhine numerous traces are found of the Romans and their civilisation acting upon the Frisians and other tribes. More or less finely made images of gods, ornaments, household goods, coins, weapons, pieces of clothing, are dug up out of the ground, so many tokens of the influence which intercourse with the Roman settlements on the Rhine must have had even upon tribes beyond the imperial bounds. This influence was plainly stronger on the left bank of the river. There, the remains are found of Roman highways. There, countless objects are exhumed, testifying to a highly developed civilisation: such as elegant mantle-clasps and alabaster smelling-bottles, painted vases, and finely cut stones, quantities of gold and bronze coins, memorial and votive stones.

While north of the Rhine we can only imagine wretched German villages and hamlets, whither the Roman peddler picked his way through swamps and forests to sell or barter his wares, south of the great river we find towns inhabited by an industrious population, country-houses with beautiful mosaics, manufactories of pottery, and baths, as at Aix-la-Chapelle and Spa. Many more or less important places south of the Rhine owe their origin to Roman fortresses or camps. They were connected by highways, which we know from a Roman itinerary map of the third century and a guide of the fourth century,

luckily extant. With their help, prying antiquaries, hoe in hand, have discovered the old Roman roads and shown the *civitates*, or chief places, the *mutationes*, or places for changing horses, the *mansiones*, or baiting-places, as well as the milestones. More than this, some fortunate finds, as that of the great temple of the goddess Nehalennia at Domburg, and those at Voorburg, Nijmegen, and in the neighbourhood of Maastricht, give a view of the life of Holland's forefathers. They tell of a civilisation in which barbarian and Roman customs were mingled; of a religion in which Gallic and Germanic divinities found a place beside the gods of the Greek Olympus; of a Romanising which has left traces in many common words of the Dutch language. A large number of cities sprang up in the flourishing country, and in them self-government was developed under the prefect sent by the emperor or under elected governors named, according to their number, *duumviri*, *quatuorviri*, etc. These governors were chosen by the chief property-owners, who formed together the *curia*, and were called *decuriones*. The town was the capital of the adjacent country, the residence of the old race still banded together, as it had been ruled of old, by the land-owning aristocracy. The rest of the population was quite unprotected against this aristocracy, although there were laws for the cities.

To the Romans, Holland is indebted for its first dikes, roads, and bridges, for the development of its agriculture, trade, navigation, and industry. Roman customs also powerfully influenced the German population. The Roman dominion put an end to nomadic life. Where Cæsar saw the wandering German, Tacitus more than a century later describes the tribes on and near the Rhine as fixed. The possession of the land in common after the ancient German fashion, the distribution of newly occupied lands, disappeared before another state of affairs agreeing with what was to be seen in Gaul, with what

Rome's economy taught. Thus arose among the Germans the private ownership of land, of the portion of arable land which had once been assigned to the inhabitant of the mark and his family. The mark assumed the form it was long to retain, much of the old system remaining in the various phases between common and private property. For want of the necessary data to explain this development, a lavish use of hypothesis has been made by our contemporaries. It is certain that the mark filled a large place in the tribal life of the Teutons, as among all the kindred peoples of the Indo-Germanic race, as perhaps among all the peoples of the earth. Though the mark differed at different periods, the principle is everywhere to be found—common occupation of a definite extent of ground by a number of families. Community of fields, association in the mark, are the ancient forms adopted by the cultivator of the soil, the patriarchal customs that have nowhere entirely vanished, in Holland as little as elsewhere. There came then the Roman villa, the country-house, where the proprietor lived, who had his lands tilled by slaves, or free labourers, or leased them to *coloni*, tenants in a more or less dependent position, which soon merged into serfdom. From these two factors—the German mark and the Roman farm—proceeded the later condition of the country in the Netherlands. Free peasants, serfs, and slaves existed in Roman times, and the growth of large estates even then caused the free population here and there to diminish in importance and number, while on the other hand the serfs were multiplied.

The Roman dominion converted the ancestors of the Dutch from half or complete barbarians into men appreciating the advantages of civilisation. But the state of affairs in Gaul and the German provinces on the left of the Rhine did not always remain so favourable. It soon appeared that this half-civilisation was fatal to the Gallic-

Germanic clans. Their civilisation was only on the outside, and could not make Romans of the Celt and German. Language and art, religion and government, soon became mere imitation of what Rome had once offered. The language was a bastard Latin full of Gallicisms; art degenerated into too luxuriant ornamentation; religion grew to be a hodge-podge of superstition; and government became a hierarchy of tyrannical officials. And Rome itself, ever falling deeper, could give no help. In Gaul, as in Italy, large estates were fearfully increased, and demoralised the country. The peasants sunk deeper and lost their freedom, all dropping together into slavery. Things were no better in the cities, and the government officers sucked the population dry, the upper as well as the lower classes. In the third and fourth century after Christ, all Gaul got into a state of terrible decrepitude, like nearly every other part of the Roman empire. The population gradually fell off physically, morally, and numerically, and the soldiers guarding them were no longer the old legions, but small detachments of conquered Germans, badly officered and disciplined.

This half-decayed civilisation was in a few centuries to be in a large measure destroyed. The German hosts beyond the Rhine took advantage of the decline of the Roman empire, by which the power of the central government was broken. Their plundering expeditions were at first favoured by the fact that the army on the Rhine, at the beginning of the third century, was reduced to less than three legions. It was chiefly the league of the Franks in Western Germany that attacked the Rhine strongholds. It was composed of the smaller tribes that lived east of the Batavians on the Lippe, Ruhr, upper Ems, and Weser, and moved west and south-west, attracted by the flourishing Roman provinces, and perhaps pushed on by other tribes, by the Saxons, Frisians, and Alemanni. Emperor Probus (280) drove them out of Gaul, and temporarily re-

lieved the island of the Batavians from their ravages. The Franks again occupying this island, the Cæsar of Gaul, Constantius Chlorus, reconquered it, and he assigned new homes to a part of the defeated enemy in Gallia Belgica. After his victories the camps on the Rhine frontier were once more restored and furnished with troops. The revival of the Roman empire under Diocletian and Constantine the Great (284–337) seems to have influenced affairs favourably also in the Netherlands, but after the latter's death the confusion waxed greater. The Franks now used their opportunities and made incursions deep into Gaul. Cologne fell into their hands in 355, and the brave Julian had great difficulty in expelling them from Toxandria, or Northern Brabant. Flourishing Treves was repeatedly destroyed. The Salians, the most powerful of the Franks, remained upon the island of the Batavians with the general's consent. But peace had departed from the country. While this Julian the Apostate reigned as emperor (361–363), the Chamavi, descending the Rhine, appeared in Batavia. They succeeded in driving the Salians from the island, but were subdued by Julian's troops, supported by these and other Germans. From the remains of the Batavians, Salians, and Chamavi, a new population seems to have been formed on the island. Another portion of the Batavians settled as *læti*—colonists cultivating and defending the land—in the Roman territory on the Channel and in Picardy.

Affairs in Gaul were also much changed. Since the reign of Diocletian, it formed with Britain and Hispania a separate division of the empire, a prefecture, the prefect of which was a sort of Cæsar. Under him there were dukes and counts, *duces* and *comites*, in the old provinces of Germany and the two Belgiums. The Roman dominion in the Netherlands lasted with ups and downs until the end of the fourth century. Behind the Franks, the Saxons pushed on towards the Rhine; Rome was no

longer able to defend the old frontier river; the Germans overwhelmed the Roman posts with their swarms, and early in the next century (410) Rome's frontier in Gaul appears to have run about where the boundary now is between France and Belgium. The Roman empire still dragged out its existence. The Vandal, Stilicho, the real ruler under the Emperor Honorius, was (395) presumably the last of Rome's generals to descend the Rhine to its mouth and to make treaties of peace with Salian and Sigambrian. In 402, he drew off the remaining garrisons, the last of the once dreaded legions, to Italy, where he needed them against the Goths. This was the signal for universal confusion on the Rhine frontiers, which now lay unguarded before the fierce Germans. The Roman rule was ended for good. At the same time, the Batavians disappeared from history. Their country, like that of the old tribes mentioned by Cæsar and Tacitus, was inundated by the barbarians from across the Rhine; the old names vanished—though not without leaving some trace—in the night of centuries. Numerous tumuli on the heaths and meadows of Holland alone recall their whilom existence, their fame, and pitiful ending. The solitary wanderer gazes reverently upon these mounds as the work of generations preceding him centuries ago into the great grave of humanity. Sometimes the spade turns up urns buried there with remnants of ashes, or the bones of a Batavian or Tungrian of old.

The Roman civilisation of the Netherlands was almost annihilated. Ruins marked the strongholds, where Rome's valiant soldiers once defended the frontiers of the gigantic empire; ruins were now the villas that had been the seats of the wealthy Gallic nobility, the noble German, or the industrious Roman manufacturer; ruins were soon the towns and villages, never favoured by the Germans, which in the first two centuries of our era had sprung up as centres of military activity, commerce, and

intercourse. Even now, important finds of coins sometimes tell of the fear of the plundering barbarian; even now, half-burned walls deep in the ground reveal atrocious ravages of the third and fourth centuries. The great highways of the Romans indicated to the hordes of barbarians the way along which the most booty was to be found.

One result of Rome's influence, however, the German victory could not entirely obliterate. Christianity, though suffering from the hostility of the Teutonic priests, maintained itself in some places. In the Roman empire, Christianity as early as the second century penetrated far into Gaul, and inspired partly the people disaccustomed to religious feelings. It had rapidly extended northwards. Treves and Cologne were from about A.D. 300 the seats of bishops. In the middle of the fourth century, St. Servatius lived in the Southern Netherlands, founded the bishopric of Tongres, and preached in the neighbourhood of Tongres and Maestricht. At Maestricht he was buried, near the great bridge over the Meuse, on the spot where later over his grave was reared the cathedral consecrated to him. The latter city became at the end of the century, perhaps by reason of its greater security, the seat of the bishop. The times, however, could not be favourable to the spread of Christianity, and we need not wonder at hearing so little of the new religion's work among the wild Germans who occupied the country. That it was present, that amid the universal shipwreck of civilisation it held out at least upon the Meuse, is an indisputable fact. Christian emblems have been recognised on objects dug up, also, at Nimwegen. Soon Christianity was to win over the Franks themselves, to give to the fierce conqueror, somewhat tamed by his contact with the civilisation of Gaul, strength for the struggle with his still heathen neighbours. In this struggle, Christianity, often perhaps a pretext, was surely to become a mighty weapon in the hand of the Frankish warrior.



CHAPTER III

FRANKS, SAXONS, AND FRISIANS

MOST of the names of the numerous tribes on the Scheldt, Meuse, Rhine, and Ems have disappeared. That of the Frisians has survived, having probably become a collective name for several small peoples. We know this to be true of the Franks and Saxons, whose names, of uncertain derivation, are without doubt general appellations for great confederations in North-western Germany, the names of the separate tribes being wholly lost in them.

No longer opposed by the weak garrisons of the Rhine fortresses, the Franks pushed into the provinces of Germania and Gallia Belgica, and, with the consent of the Romans, made themselves masters of the country. They were not allies, like the Batavians, but protégés, who had to guard their protectors. They furnished troops for the defence of the frontiers, and in return were allowed to settle in the empire under their own government and kings. In the fifth century, the Franks drive the Romans farther back in Gaul, and their fighting princes are the dreaded enemies of the Roman governors, who buy them and their bands off or assign them lands to be—defended. Among these kings, the historian of the Franks, Gregory of Tours, mentions Clodion, at Dispargum, in the later Brabant. About the middle of the fifth century, Merowig (Merovæus) was a “king” of the Franks, and led them,

in alliance with the Romans and Visigoths, in the great battle of the Catalaunian fields, which delivered Gaul from the Huns. Merovæus gave his name to the royal family that ruled at the end of the century over all the territory of the Salic Franks.

Dark is the fate of Western Europe, of the Netherlands especially, in the century of misfortune, in which ancient Rome finally ceased to be mistress of the West. No historian recounts how the conquering Frank treated the vanquished native; no monument recalls the conqueror or his victim; but the traces of fire and pillage tell of the unspeakable woes suffered by the inhabitants of the lands subdued by the Franks. Not until the close of the fifth century does Chlodwig or Clovis (481-511) stand out clearly as the founder of the great Frankish kingdom. Wild and barbarous, the king of the Franks, the victor over Alemanni and Burgundians, appears at the head of his savage warriors. His father, Childeric, lived at Tournay on friendly terms with the Romans, and left his son the well developed authority of a king. Clovis made use of the might coming from a strong army. He destroyed the last vestige of the Roman dominion in Gaul, where a Roman general had founded an independent kingdom and bequeathed it to his son Syagrius. Like the Romans at Soissons and the Alemanni at Zülrich, the Visigoths at Vouglé suffered defeat at the hands of Clovis, and the distant Thuringians became subject to him. Soon he ruled over a great kingdom with Paris for his capital. His going over to Christianity at Rheims in 496, under the influence of his Catholic Burgundian wife, Clotilda, and of St. Remi, was an event of great importance for the future. His conversion did not make a pioneer of civilisation of the fierce warrior, who indeed "adored what he had burned, and burned what he had adored," but stopped at no treachery or murder to get rid of the smaller "kings" of the Franks apparently threatening the power

of his race. And he was more of a monarch than the later Roman emperors. He was the creator of a united kingdom, Romans and Franks being alike his subjects. At his death in 511, he left his sons undisputed heirs of the kingdom, and then began a crisis.

One of Clovis's sons, Clotaire I., became ruler over the northernmost part of Gaul, while the country on the east fell to the eldest son, Theodoric I. After bloody dissensions in the royal house, Clotaire, who had killed his nephews, united once more the whole kingdom of the Franks under his sceptre. But he also had four sons, who after his death, following the Frankish custom, divided up the paternal inheritance (561). In the history of the kingdom of the Franks, the names of Brunehaut, wife of King Sigebert of Austrasia, and Fredegonda, first the mistress, later the wife of King Chilperic of Neustria, are written in black. Their contemporary, Gregory of Tours, has left a terrible account of their crimes, which nearly wiped out the whole royal family, until the second Clotaire in 613 alone survived the slaughter. A century of murder and domestic strife passed over much of the Netherlands without our hearing more of the inhabitants than that they, too, suffered. The example of the princes was imitated by the nobles, like the barbarous Rauching, who buried his serfs alive to punish them for marrying without his consent. With Clotaire II. and his son Dagobert, things became somewhat better. The Frankish kingdom of the Merovingians was united, although Austrasia, in general situated between the Meuse and the Rhine, remained more thoroughly German than Neustria, between the Loire and the Meuse. In this atmosphere of cunning and deceit, treachery and fratricide, crime and sensuality, so strikingly described by Gregory of Tours, the beautiful flower of Christianity opened.

The Franks had not found the Gallo-Roman civilisation entirely destroyed, although their Teutonic brethren, the

West Goths and Burgundians, were in Gaul before them. That civilisation lingered particularly among the higher classes. Some of the Frankish monarchs sought to make their courts new centres of culture. Poets like Venantius Fortunatus lived at the court of Queen Brunehaut; kings like Chilperic studied art and science; many Gallo-Romans occupied high places in the church and the civil government of the Franks. Military service was reserved chiefly for the Franks, while, under their sometimes doubtful protection, the population of the flourishing cities remained devoted to trade and industry. Soon there was everywhere a mingling of the two elements, the victorious German and the vanquished Gallo-Roman. In Gaul itself a new people thus arose, while farther north, at the mouths of the rivers, the German element absorbed the small remnant of the Roman-Gallic inhabitants. At this time, also, in the sections of the Frankish kingdom, that were afterwards to be called the Netherlands, the civilisation was somewhat beneath that of the more southern districts of the later France.

Christianity had a great influence upon the fusion of the two peoples, the Gallo-Romans and Franks. It rejoiced more or less in the support of the Christian princes of the Franks. In the uncivilised regions of Northern Neustria and Austrasia, however, Wodan and Thor, Freya and Holda had still many fervent worshippers, who were slow in following the example of conversion set them by their chiefs. The Christian missionaries, Franks or monks from Ireland, found in the former Belgica and Germany an ample field of operations, and were powerfully sustained by some of the Frankish kings. These rulers saw that the introduction of Christianity would strengthen their own might in the little-civilised northern country, bordering upon that of the almost independent Frisians and Saxons. In the accounts of the old historians, it is as difficult to distinguish these two peoples from one

another as later the Danes and Norsemen. As early as the third century, the Saxons are said to be settled on the upper Ems. Their name, originally belonging only to a tribe on the Elbe, had then probably become the general name for the North-German tribes between the Ems and Elbe. On the west they touched the Franks, and soon came into conflict with them. With the Saxons, the Frisians are always mentioned, as the inhabitants of the Netherlandish coasts. Frisians and Saxons together seem to have maintained their independence in the face of powerful neighbours, just as they appear more or less together in the fifth century as the conquerors of Britain, where, after the departure of the Romans, the confusion had become as great as on the continent. Names of towns, villages, and persons in old England vividly recall places and persons on the shores of Northern Germany from the Rhine to the Elbe. The Frisian and Anglo-Saxon languages show so much affinity that mention is even made of an English-Frisian family of languages. Frisians and Saxons appear in those days with the Danes as navigators of the North Sea.

Under Clotaire II. and Dagobert I., the kingdom of the Franks was again united, and more vigour could be displayed against the Frisians and Saxons. In this warfare the knowledge of Christianity was spread over the southern portions of the later Netherlands. About 400, mention is made of the preaching of St. Victricius among the Nervii and Morini; about 500, of that of St. Vaast around Arras, of St. Eleutherius at Tournay, of St. Antimond at Therouanne. Towards the middle of the seventh century, St. Amandus preached the gospel among the Frisians on the Scheldt, being often abused and once thrown into the river. With him stood such men as St. Bavon and Florbert. After him came preachers like St. Livinus, who died a martyr in 655, like St. Eligius (Eloi), bishop of Noyon, whose diocese extended over all Flan-

ders. Eligius, once a goldsmith, afterwards patron of the guild, preached among the barbarians on the coast "not reached by the ploughshare of the gospel." He summoned the heathens to renounce their old gods, to neglect the pagan festivals, to give up Runic sorcery, magic potions, amulets, and the fear of the influence of sun and moon. The lives of these holy men tell of their courage, self-sacrifice, and zealous labours amid rude dwellers in forests and morasses. Convents were everywhere founded, seminaries, as it were, for the education of new preachers of the gospel, who were to continue the work of their predecessors. Bishoprics were formed, as the conversion of the country progressed. Cambrai, Tournay, Arras, and Therouanne became the seats of bishops. The greatest of the southern dioceses was Liege, whose bishop was first settled at Tongres, then at Maestricht, and from 708 at Liege. The later Luxemburg was apparently converted from several adjoining bishoprics, most of it belonging to the archbishopric of Treves. The archbishopric of Cologne included also Nimwegen and the country between the Meuse and Waal. Therouanne, Tournay, Arras, and Cambrai belonged under the archbishopric of Rheims; Liege and the soon formed Utrecht, besides the later bishoprics of Münster and Osnabrück, under the archbishopric of Cologne.

Under Dagobert, the first serious effort was made to introduce Christianity among the northern Frisians. Trajectum, with a small church, was handed over by the Frankish king to the bishop of Cologne, but this church, dedicated to St. Thomas, was soon destroyed by the fierce Frisians. Christianity was to gain ground among Frisians and Saxons only in the track of the Carolingian armies. In the time of Clotaire and Dagobert, the race of the Pepins—called later Arnulfingians, and still later Carolingians—came very much into the foreground. Under Dagobert, Pepin of Landen held in Austrasia the

important office of mayor of the palace, and was more powerful than any such official had ever before been. The family lost its prestige through the murder of his son, Grimoald, but Pepin's grandson, the son of his daughter Begga, named after him and distinguished from him as Pepin of Heristal, rose again, and in 687 totally routed his enemies in the battle of Testry. He was the real king in the Frankish realm, for the monarchs of the Merovingian race had long since become mere puppets in the hands of their mayors. With vigour he presided over the government, curbing the unruly Frankish nobility, keeping the tributary peoples in subjection, and forcing the now independent Saxons and Frisians to make peace.

War on the Frisians was chiefly waged from Trajectum. One of their kings, Adgild or Aldgisl, had hospitably received the Anglo-Saxon Wilfrid, bishop of York, and allowed him to preach Christianity in his kingdom. But after him appeared Radbod, hostile to the Franks and Christianity—"God's enemy," as Melis Stoke calls him. He drove away the Christian priests and invaded the Frankish territory, but was soon obliged to yield to the dreaded Pepin. Once more he rose in arms, and was again defeated by Pepin. Radbod's daughter married Pepin's son, Grimoald, and both houses were thus united. Grimoald, however, was speedily murdered at Liege, and Radbod took advantage of the confusion attending Pepin's death (714) to throw off the yoke. But Charles Martel, the illegitimate son of Pepin, succeeded in putting down Radbod, the decisive battle being fought on the Rhine near Trajectum, and was thenceforth acknowledged as his father's heir. Frisians and Franks repeatedly warred with one another afterwards. Under Pepin the Short, the first Carolingian king, who deposed the last Merovingian do-nothing monarch (751), and under Charlemagne himself, the Frisians raised the standard of rebel-

lion. Led by the second Radbod, some of them often joined the Saxon Wittekind, the fierce foe of the Franks, but in the end their subjugation was effected. Charlemagne, king of the Franks, ruled also over Friesland, and occupies an important place in Frisian history.

The spread of Christianity went hand in hand with submission to the Franks. Frankish, Anglo-Saxon, and Irish missionaries followed the Frankish armies, and won over more and more Frisians to the religion of love. What the Anglo-Saxon priests taught the Frisians, however, was purer than what the latter accepted. Christianity became coarser, more barbarous and superstitious among the Germanic converts. The old ceremonies were in part retained; the new saints, in the eyes of the just converted, were the conquerors of the old gods, who were now degraded into devils. These last were no longer worshipped, but upon their ancient festival days the saints of Christianity and Christ himself were remembered. While people came formerly with sick horses to the gods, now with the same incantations they besought Christ's help. The expulsion of the old gods was achieved with great difficulty, and cost many missionaries their lives. After Wilfrid, followed in the order of time the Anglo-Saxon, Willibrord, his beloved disciple, sent in 692 with eleven other monks from Ireland to preach the gospel in Friesland. Willibrord secured the powerful friendship of Pepin, and began with his support the work of converting Friesland. He did this, however, only after he had been consecrated by the pope under the name of Clement and intrusted with the mission in these regions. Trajectum became his base of operations. There, near the ruins of the old chapel of Dagobert's time, he built St. Saviour's Church, and later St. Martin's. He seemed to be the right man for the Frisians. Great numbers of the heathen were converted by him, especially after he had been made archbishop of the Frisians during a second visit to Rome. From Tra-

jectum he sent forth other bishops, and was himself incessantly travelling about and founding everywhere churches and convents. At a great age he died in 739, perhaps in his monastery at Echternach in Luxemburg, where his body lies buried. He was the founder of the bishopric of Utrecht, the real converter of the Frisians, but he did not confine his work to them alone. Under his direction Swidbert preached on the Rhine; Weranfried in the populous Betuwe; Adelbert in Kennemerland; Wiro, Plechelmus, and Otger in Roermond and Twente. With them, also, Wolfram, the Frank, seems to have preached in Friesland. Who does not know the story of his talk with the Frisian king, Radbod, who, just stepping into the baptismal font, chose to abide with his heathen forefathers in hell rather than with the "miserable handful of Christians" in heaven? Gangulf and Wando are mentioned as Wolfram's companions in Friesland.

But more famous than all is the "apostle of the Germans," the great Winfrid, an Anglo-Saxon, whose old name was changed for that of Boniface when he entered the convent. A short visit of this missionary to Trajectum in 716 was not very successful, but later he returned from Rome and preached on the frontiers of the heathen Frisians during three years. His chief work was not to be here, however, for he soon became the leader of the mission in Germany. The monastery of Fulda was his favourite abode, and Mainz was the capital of his archbishopric. When over seventy years old, he betook himself once more to Friesland with some of his best helpers. Opposed by the Frisian, Radbod II., he preached there a few months, until he met the death he had expected, perhaps even longed for in his innermost heart. It happened thus. Early in the summer of 754, he came down the Rhine and appeared among the Frisians. Immediately he began his work, building churches, preaching, casting down idols, converting thousands of men, women,

and children. At Dokkum, on the 5th of June, 754, he was to confirm some converts. At break of day he saw, instead of his new Christians, hostile bands of heathens coming to plunder him and his. The noble old man forbade his companions to take up arms against the assailants, almost exulting that at last the long-looked-for day of his martyrdom had arrived. He encouraged his friends, and fell with them under the swords of the pagans, who pillaged his camp and divided the booty, even carrying off books and reliquaries. Excited by wine, the rapacious troop got to fighting among themselves, and the survivors seized upon the spoils. The news spreading, the Christian Frisians came in great numbers and killed many of the heathens, but soon went with the body of the beloved preacher to Utrecht. From there it was conveyed to Fulda, where he had wished to rest.

His fate did not dismay the brave missionaries. His disciple, the Frank, Gregory, abbot of Willibrord's convent of St. Saviour, in Utrecht, inherited his task and continued it in the country west of the Lauwers. During twenty years he directed the missionary work from Utrecht, and brought up a number of followers, whose names are prominent in the ecclesiastical history of the land. The noted Frisian, Liudger, was also one of Gregory's pupils. Liudger's great foundation was the monastery of Werden, on the Ruhr, and he died the first bishop of Münster. Thanks to all these missionaries, this part of Europe was, about 800, won over to Christianity. An addition to the older dioceses of Cambrai, Tournay, Therouanne, Arras, Liege-Maestricht now appeared in the North in the bishopric of Utrecht, to which belonged almost the whole country north of the Rhine besides Zealand. The rude population, sketched in the lives of the saintly preachers, had received a new element of civilisation and development in Christianity, handled powerfully by the greatest of the Frankish kings, Charlemagne.

These lives of the early missionaries are important for our knowledge of the Netherlands. Nowhere are the Frisians of this period more clearly pictured than in the biography of Liudger by his relative and successor, Altf rid. He describes the life of a respectable Frisian family, one of the first to embrace Christianity, the first whose members attained high ecclesiastical preferment. He relates how Liudger's mother was almost murdered by her heathen grandmother, who was enraged at the birth of a girl; how a female neighbour rescued the child by stratagem, giving it honey, since it was the custom not to kill children that had eaten something; how the neighbour reared the babe by letting it drink milk from a horn. He tells us how Liudger grew up in Gregory's school to be a preacher, and studied at York under the famous Alcuin. Heathen temples, rich in idols, still covered the land of the Frisians. They and the unconverted Saxons often destroyed the new little wooden churches and murdered the preachers. Among the heathens, the violator of the temple was still taken to the shore of the sea to have his ears slit, to be robbed of his manhood, and sacrificed to the insulted gods. With the heathen Frisians, Liudger found the blind bard, Bernlef, the singer of the old heroic ballads—of the exploits of Siegfried and Hagen, of the beautiful Gudrun, perhaps—which after his conversion he exchanged for psalms. He found flourishing villages in place of the untenanted wilderness of Roman times.

Anskar, in the life of Willehad, recounts the barbarism of certain Frisians, who cast lots over the preacher, throwing dice to ascertain whether or not the gods doomed him to death. He informs us that Drenthe still had many temples and sacrificial places, whose worshippers attacked the missionary with clubs and swords when he ventured to destroy the idols. Willehad, in his account of Boniface's murder, speaks of things around Dokkum, where a

plundering people lived in a district inundated by every flood-tide and drained by the ebb, so that the church in memory of the murdered saint had to be built upon a hill.

Everything goes to show that the inhabitants of the country north of the mouths of the Rhine were extremely rude and uncivilised. In places like Trajectum and Dorestade, however, a certain amount of luxury must have prevailed within the mostly wooden houses grouped around the wooden churches. This luxury was the result of the trade in Frisian cattle, horses, woven mantles, wines, wood, and grain from the upper Rhine. The Frisian merchants were seen in the markets of St. Denis, as well as of York, Bremen, Hamburg, and Schleswig. Agriculture also must have been considerably developed before the eighth century, judging from the numerous farms presented by the faithful to the monastic institutions. In the southern districts, much earlier at peace, affairs must have been somewhat better, although the report in a life of St. Lambert (700), that heathen Toxandria (Northern Brabant and Antwerp) was still "a wild region, covered with morasses, and inhabited by a barbarous people," and similar statements give us no very high idea of the civilisation. But the existence of many important places, as Maestricht, Liege, Ghent, Brussels, Antwerp, and the bishops' cities in Southern Flanders and Artois, testifies to an earlier development of the South. The description of rich Brabant, "overflowing with milk and honey," affords a good impression of the state of agriculture there at the end of the seventh century. Flanders could not be compared with Brabant. The Ardennes, where old Celtic tribes still lived isolated, only slightly affected by the Teutonic migrations, were noted centuries later for their wildness and insecurity.

The old Frankish civilisation has left its traces everywhere in the Netherlands, like the Roman, Frisian, and

Saxon. Decorated pottery, gold and silver hair-pins and buckles, iron- and glassware, bracelets, battle-axes, swords, coins, and seals, show a higher development than that of the ancient Batavians and Frisians, likewise the influence of Roman models upon the Frankish artisan. The old Runic writing, still found on staves and drinking-horns, gave way to a script nearer that of the cultured Romans. The influence of the Irish and Anglo-Saxon missionaries was here manifest. Especially interesting was the discovery of King Childeric's tomb at Tournay in 1653, when the royal seal-ring, arms, ornaments, coins, and apparel came to light. The Frankish king rose from his grave, as it were, to bear witness to a time, rude and uncultivated indeed, yet displaying eagerness to learn from the vanquished, whose civilisation inspired the fierce conqueror with respect.

In the great realm of the Franks, order was finally restored upon the accession of Charles the Great in 768. Charlemagne was able either to subdue his Frisian and Saxon neighbours, as well as the Lombards, Saracens, Avars, and Wends, or to make them recognise his authority. With him began a period of comparative peace, order, and rest. Europe seemed to have fallen upon happy times.

Franks, Frisians, and Saxons are the factors from which arose the later population of the Netherlands. The difference between these tribes is still plainly to be perceived in the language, customs, physical build, habitations, and agriculture—a proof of the persistency of human nature, which, notwithstanding incessant friction, crossing of races during centuries, and the growing up together into one state and society, shows its originally varying characteristics. But, with all the differences, it is everywhere evident that the Frank, the Salian Frank, was the dominant element. His institutions, customs, language, and spirit have prevailed over those of the other

two races, just as his kings, eleven or twelve centuries ago, subjected theirs.

“The glorious race of the Franks,” as the Salic law says, “founded by God, strong in war, firm in peace, profound in counsel, noble of body, inflexible in honour, of excellent figure, bold, swift, proud, converted to the Catholic faith, free from heresy. While it was still considered barbarian, by God’s inspiration seeking the key of science, by virtue of its morals desiring justice, protecting piety. . . . This is the people that, brave and strong, shook off the hard yoke of Rome from its neck by fighting, and, after recognising the might of baptism, adorned with gold and precious stones the bodies of the holy martyrs, whom the Romans had burned with fire or mutilated with the sword or thrown to beasts to be torn to pieces.”





CHAPTER IV

CHARLEMAGNE

ONE of the expressions current in books of history, and yet hindering a right understanding of the enchainment of historical facts, is, "this or that period is a period of transition." In the history of the world all periods are really periods of transition. History does not stand still. Unceasingly the Ahasuerus, called man, strides along the road of development, not always progressing in *all* respects, often advancing very slowly, sometimes even apparently moving backwards, but ever, while falling and rising up again, taking another step upon the path of life, leading to a goal that is hidden from him, but which he *must* make into an ideal, if he is not to lose heart in the battle of life. Some periods may, nevertheless, be regarded as times of comparative rest and order, others as times of turbulent and restless commotion. The latter are preferably, then, to be named "periods of transition."

The relative quiet under the protection of the Roman spear gave place to the turmoil of the so-called "migration of nations," and this in turn led up to the great realm of the Carlovingians, a substitute for ancient Rome. In close union with the church, the first kings of the Carlovingian house, Pepin the Short (751-768) and Charlemagne (768-814), restored order. Pepin deposed the last Merovingian *roi fainéant*, Pope Zacharias giving his con-

sent and anointing the new Frankish monarch. Church and state submitted to the strong hand of the ruler, whose great son, with the imperial title, took the place in Western Europe left vacant three centuries before by Rome's emperors. The country at the mouths of the great rivers was bound both to the Merovingian and Carolingian dynasties by their common origin. Is not the cradle of the Merovingians usually sought around Nimwegen and Cleves? Were not the Carolingians the descendants of the family of Landen and Heristal settled on the Meuse? For the Netherlands, also, Charlemagne, born perhaps in Liege, was the mighty king and emperor, with whose name the thought of law and order was inseparably connected. But this order here left still something to be desired. Force had to be employed against Frisians and Saxons, and even Wittekind's baptism did not finally end the struggle. Later the Saxons cast off Christianity and drove away the Frankish officials, their example being followed in Friesland. The king soon appeared with a large army and compelled the insurgents to sue for peace, but again and again they revolted, and frightful ravages of interior and coast could not lastingly pacify them. Year after year, numerous Saxons and Frisians were deported from their country and placed as colonists in the middle of the Frankish dominions. These strong measures eventually quieted the people west of the Weser; east of that river, the contest continued until 804.

Three peoples inhabited the Netherlands—Franks, Frisians, and Saxons, differing in origin, laws, and customs. The Frisians dwelt along the coast, and the Yssel was about the boundary between the Franks and Saxons. The Franks were divided into Ripuarians and Salians, the Chamavi and Chattuarii being distinguished from the latter. The laws of these different tribes have, wholly or in part, come down to us, in their latest form probably from the time of Charlemagne, who—so his contemporary,

Einhard, testifies—had them recorded or revised. We possess the *Lex Salica*, or Salic law, of which the first redaction must date from about 500; the *Lex Ripuaria*; the *Ewa Chamavorum*, or law of the Chamavi; the *Lex Frisionum*; and the *Lex Saxonum*. From these laws and the “capitularies,” we can form some idea of the general condition of the peoples here under Charlemagne.

The strength of all of them lay in the freemen, whose “weregild”—the fine for their death paid by the murderer—was about everywhere the same. With his kindred the freeman formed a whole, united by blood-relationship. In their midst he marched to battle; they avenged his wrongs and death; they appeared with him in judicial trials; they settled the guardianship of his orphaned children. The close connection of kinship began to diminish in Carlovingian times under the influence of a more powerful government, and by the right of the father of the family breaking loose from the bond of consanguinity. Within the circle of kindred stood the freeman’s household with his wife and children and his servants. The latter, if not free, were his property; the former lived under his guardianship. On one side of the freemen were the nobles; on the other, the slaves and half-freemen. The nobility differed among different tribes. The old nobility of family had disappeared among the Franks under Clovis, but in Merovingian and Carlovingian times the men around the king, the high officials, formed again a new nobility, distinguished from the common freemen by a higher weregild and greater estate, and gradually assuming the character of hereditary nobility. In general, nobility was bestowed only on freemen possessing free landed property. This same nobility by inheritance of high offices appeared among other tribes, which could still show the old nobility by birth. Here the nobility had never disappeared. Among the Saxons, the nobleman was entitled to six times the weregild of the freeman.

With the Frisians, the nobleman, or *etheling*, stood much lower, his weregild being once and a half or twice as large as that of the ordinary free Frisian, the *friling*. Between freemen and slaves were the *coloni*, freemen who had put themselves under the protection of a lord and paid a certain sum of money. They and the ever-increasing freemen who did not fully own their land, were more or less restricted in their liberty. Beneath them were the serfs, everywhere numerous, but especially among the Saxons. They were, like their descendants, bound to the glebe which they inhabited, paid fixed contributions, or rendered certain services, and could only marry with their master's consent, he representing them in law. Their weregild was a half or two-thirds of the freeman's. They could make contracts and have certain possessions, which at their death fell to their master. Their origin is derived from subjugation by a conquering people in the time of the migration. Altogether without freedom were the slaves. Originally prisoners or subjugated people—the name of “Slaves” refers to wars against the tribes beyond the Elbe and Oder—they saw their number greatly increased in the time of the invasions. Many freemen also dropped into slavery, and sold themselves as slaves for want of protection or in consequence of financial difficulties. The slave is no longer a person, but a thing. He has no weregild—merely value as his master's property. The master disposes of the slave's life, as well as of the products of his and his children's toil. For his misdeeds, the slave is no more responsible than the dog of the house, his master alone being accountable. Carovingian times bring some improvement in this condition. The slave becomes somebody in place of something; his value is raised, even his weregild is spoken of; small farms are assigned to him for cultivation, and though he is looked upon as but a part of his farm, the piece of ground, to a certain extent, is considered his property. Like the serf,

the slave must give his master fixed sums and services. Higher than the ordinary slave stands the *ministerialis*, who serves his lord as cup-bearer, groom, seneschal, or chamberlain. With him are, further, the armed servants that guard their master's person and property. Such slaves of the king and the church rejoice in a better position. In general, the slaves approach more and more to the condition of the serfs.

Speaking of these classes leads us naturally to consider their manner of living. The life is chiefly that of the farmer, the peasant. We see that plainly in the laws of Carlovingian times. The German has not yet overcome his repugnance to walled towns; at most he will live in villages, but best likes to be lord and master upon a separate farm. In the cities are found only the defenders of the fortress, the merchants and manufacturers using the markets, besides the servants of religion in convent or church. Out in the country, the Frank, Frisian, or Saxon lives without troubling himself much about his neighbour. In place of the German hunter and herdsman, the German peasant has come; the roving life of old has ceased, since he found a permanent abode upon his own land.

As early as Roman times, the private ownership of the arable land had begun in the mark, and by the eighth century it was the general rule. A reminiscence of the former alternation in the use of the land still subsisted in the compulsory tillage, by which the mode of cultivation was not left to each man's discretion but to the judgment of the assembled peasants of the mark. The right of inheriting this private property was in the beginning limited to the owner's son; now the daughters and the collateral line had secured it; and one could sell or pledge his land. Within the ancient mark, the farm is now the unit of land. Its possessor is entitled to the use of the still undivided heath and wood, of the river, and the sea. In the seventh

century, large estates are not common. As a rule, each free father of a family owns his farm and cultivates it with his children, serfs, and slaves. The great estates of the king, of some noblemen, soon, too, of the church, are exceptions due to conquest and to the numerous donations to Holy Church. But large estates were rapidly developed. Before the eighth century, proofs of this are found, especially among the Franks. The old conditions seem to have held out longer among the Frisians and Saxons, where large estates did not come until the ninth and tenth centuries. In Gaul, on the contrary, a third of the land is said to have been in the hands of the church in the eighth century. At the end of this century, the convent of Fulda, founded fifty years before by Boniface, already owned fifteen thousand farms scattered over Western Germany. Constant gifts from the king to his provincial officials also promoted large holdings of land. The purchase of farms from impoverished freemen; the clearing of common lands on a large scale; wealth developed by commerce and industry; improved methods of cultivation—all helped to swell the great estates. The free peasant had to be protected even in Charlemagne's time. It happened that whole marks belonged to one landowner.

Still more dangerous was the growing number of the "immunities" conferred upon the great holders of land, particularly upon the church. The possessions of many churches and convents and of some private individuals, were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the ordinary royal functionary, the count, by the privilege of immunity. All power was then taken from the count in the territory thus liberated, and transferred to the owner's officials. In the beginning, the owner perhaps chose the count for his officer, his governor, but this soon changed, and the immunities had their own governors. The inhabitants of land so endowed with immunity were of course handed

over to the mercy of the proprietor. In Carlovingian times, the number of these privileges of immunity much increased, and almost all the monasteries of importance obtained them. Is it strange that people began to turn against growing oppression? Even under Charlemagne, we hear of secret associations, called guilds, sometimes intended for mutual support in case of fire or poverty. On the Flemish coast, early in the ninth century, there were unions, which seemed dangerous to the king, and were consequently prohibited.

The relation of the great landowner to the free, half-free, and not free peasants on his farms differed. Very often this relation was expressed by the idea of a "fief," when the lord could not till parts of his extensive estates with his serfs or slaves, but handed them over to a vassal bound to military and other service. The general name for conditional gifts of land was *precaria*, contracts binding the parties in each particular case. Later the same relation was stamped with the name of *benefice*, which was gradually limited to feudal grants of estates by the king in return for military service. The vassal was said to have put himself under the guardianship of his lord. By this act, the ancient commendation, he obtained a right to the lord's special protection. The commendation was accompanied by a symbolical action, in which the vassal placed his hands in the lord's in token of submission.

Thus, in Carlovingian times, large estates arose, the centre of which was the *sala*—the dependent farms, or *mansi*, being grouped around. The entire estate was usually called a *villa*, and it formed a small village. The Frank, Saxon, or Frisian lived very simply upon these farms. His wooden house, in the Frisian country built on a mound thrown up to keep it out of the water, was little more resplendent than those of his dependents. A work-shed was the ordinary resort of his weaving or spinning wife with her maids. Sheds and stables stood

around his dwelling. His agricultural implements, iron being still very sparingly in use, were no more numerous than his domestic animals, chief of which was the dog. Among his live-stock appeared pigs, sheep, goats, cows, and horses. He was his own baker and carpenter, his own tailor and cobbler. A mill was usually the property of the whole mark, and protected by all sorts of penalties on account of the great expense of building it. Now and then, he went to the nearest market-town to dispose of his surplus grain or cattle, whenever the merchant had not come to him. Other than summer and winter grain, rye, barley and oats, he did not raise; apples and pears were his fruit. On these trips to market, he must have bought the few articles of luxury, personal ornaments chiefly, which were to be seen in his plain habitation, and which are now occasionally found in the ground. He was the representative of the new social evolution of his time, which was principally characterised by the development of great estates.

The royal villas were the best managed, and Charlemagne, appreciating the importance of agriculture, did much for them. Of old, the Germans had, after some years, used the arable land as pastures, and later cultivated it again. Under and after Charlemagne, we find a separation of pasture and arable land, the latter being divided into three fields, having successively winter grain—rye, summer grain—oats and barley, then a year of lying fallow. This method of farming may be regarded as the customary one of the Middle Ages. But he was interested in more than agriculture. He regulated the royal functionaries on the estates and the maintenance of woods and roads. He supplied what was wanting on one property from the surplus of another, thus developing communication between the villas. He improved the grain and fruit by introducing all sorts of productions from the remote South. Charles Martel had

crossed the northern breeds of horses with Arab horses; under Charlemagne many studs were formed. A number of formerly unknown animals made their appearance—pheasants and peacocks, pigeons, and other inmates of the aviary. The managers of several villas, called *judices*, *villici*, or *actores*, had the care of all these things, and they had under them men of many trades, and farmers over some farms. Regular reports on the villas were made to the royal court about Christmas, and the profits were turned in towards spring. The powerful king also had his eye upon the means of communication. He restored old roads, dug canals, built bridges, and regulated the tolls.

Cities began to come up again as centres of the surrounding country, as market and trading places, occupied by a commercial population. The chief towns of later times then arose, or enjoyed anew a period of prosperity, as in Rome's best days. There were to be found merchants and manufacturing people in great number, dwelling together in separate quarters and forming guilds—leather-workers and smiths, bakers and shoemakers, butchers and innkeepers, wool-weavers and furriers. These cities claimed the old rights of their inhabitants, and received favours from the kings, often in the shape of privileges. After the restoration of order, the regulation of the coinage was necessary on account of the development of trade. The Germans had early become acquainted with the coinage of Constantine the Great. His gold *solidus* was generally used as a money of account, but the less valuable silver *denarii* of Rome were more suited to the slight demand for money in early times. About 600, the silver *denarius* (of 40 to a *solidus* or shilling = $\frac{1}{84}$ of a pound in gold) was the common money of account among the Franks. It should not be forgotten that cattle were an ordinary means of exchange, and that real money seldom appeared in the Netherlands. This

changed in the eighth century. For the growing trade, money was needed of less value; gold was almost nowhere to be found, so people went over to the silver standard. A silver *solidus*, of 22 to the pure silver pound, became the money of account; and 12 coined *denarii* went to make it. Under Charlemagne, the *solidus* was made heavier, and 20 then went to a silver pound of 367 grammes. This system of pound, shilling, and penny in the ratio of 1:20:12 continued in Germany during the Middle Ages until the eleventh century, and was the foundation of many a later coinage. In France and England it lasted much longer; in the latter country down to our own times. The Carolingians did much to put an end to the exercise of the right of coinage by the higher nobility. Charlemagne especially sought to obtain uniformity for the whole realm in money as well as in weights and measures.

The great Carolingian king was heir, in the West, to the power of the Roman emperors whose entire territory, with the exception of Spain and Britain, was subject to him, after a series of more than fifty campaigns. Charlemagne's elevation to the imperial throne at Christmas, 800, was the recognition and ecclesiastical consecration of that fact. Neither Charlemagne nor his successors had fixed residences. They possessed palaces in the chief cities, and often visited their estates and villas scattered over the whole kingdom. Favourite abodes of Charlemagne were Aix-la-Chapelle, where he lived in his last years and died, in 814, of inflammation of the lungs; Ingelheim, near Mainz, where he erected a magnificent palace; Nimwegen, where remains of his palace are still to be found; and, in the winter, Heristal, near Liege, one of the old seats of the family. From there he ruled over his great empire, the parts of which obtained, late in his reign, a certain amount of independence under his sons: Aquitaine under King Louis, Italy and Southern Ger-

many under King Pepin, the North and East under the young King Charles. He managed affairs himself after consulting a few trusted servants, among whom the arch-chaplain and the chancellor were foremost, then the count palatine, the chief of justice and police, the *camerarius* in charge of the finances, and other high officials, none assuming, however, any such princely position as the mayor of the palace in Merovingian times. Important campaigns and measures of government were considered at the great assemblies, one in the spring, the other in the fall. At the first, a multitude of free Franks from the neighbourhood appeared, together with representatives from all over the realm, coming to lay complaints before the monarch, to hand in reports, or to do homage. To the autumnal assembly, only the most considerable noblemen and officials came, to deliberate upon the interests of the empire. The "capitularies," or laws of the realm, were then discussed, and afterwards settled by the king.

Dukes were here and there placed temporarily by the king at the head of armies, but the old permanent dukes disappeared as too dangerous for the royal power. The administration in the numerous districts, into which the entire kingdom was divided, was intrusted to the royal counts, governors for the king, and their authority in the district was considerable, particularly as they were usually selected from the large landowners there. The count, residing in the chief place, was head of the district court, executor of its sentences, commander of the armed population, receiver of the taxes, tolls, and fines. With him the *domesticus* managed the domain in the district. Under the count, there stood, in each mark or hundred of the district, the *tunginus*, *centenarius*, or *vicarius*, intrusted with the administration of justice in the hundred, having the help of the free male population, from which he chose his associate judges, the *scabini*; further, with the promulgation of laws, the raising of levies, etc. The

centenarius was in the Merovingian period still elected by the people, but in the Carolingian time, he was probably appointed by the count without the intervention of the people; he was his representative in the mark, just as the count represented the king in the district. The count of frontier districts was called a margrave. By means of special travelling commissioners, *missi regii*, the king superintended the government of the counts. District and hundred were thus the proper subdivisions of the realm. They have lasted under various names and forms to our own time. What is now a province, or a short time ago was part of a province, owes its origin mostly to the old districts; the old hundred still lives in the present townships. The border provinces underwent frequent modification during the ninth and tenth centuries, and an accurate map of the Carolingian districts would now be impossible, since the mere will of the king changed them.

The king's will decided everything. No popular assembly bound him, as the Teutonic kings of earlier days, to its resolutions; no powerful noblemen, as of old, had a right to be consulted in important matters. This is not saying, naturally, that the king acted not wisely whenever he opened his ears to the griefs of nobles and people. Charlemagne's weak successors were to have a fearful reckoning with the will of their subjects, and some of them were to give way before that will. But the old democratic and aristocratic forms of government of the Germans had almost wholly disappeared. The freeman figured as a judge in the district court alone, and then under the lead of the royal count, whose authority over him was ever increasing. In the mark, the free peasant had probably something to do still in all matters of government, though here, too, he found himself opposed by the *centenarius*, an official of the mighty king. Soon he saw the king rule also over the wood and water of the

mark. The last refuge of the ancient Germanic freedom had been the hundred, the mark. Here, too, it was now seriously threatened. The king's will was as omnipotent in the church as in the state. He appointed the bishops and abbots of the convents, usually without troubling himself much about the consent of the pope or clergy. Often he selected the priests not only upon his own domains but outside of them as well, when private parties did not name them for their estates. As early as Charlemagne's time, the church began to form a redoubtable power by means of the great possessions donated it in all parts of the empire by the faithful, and especially by means of its privileges of immunity, and his posterity was to have difficulty and strife with it.

A striking figure is the great king of the Franks, who carried their kingdom—the mightiest of the kingdoms of the migrations of nations—to the summit of success. Charlemagne was an absolute ruler, fully conscious of his high place in the world but also of the duty it laid upon him. He was a great man, in whom history has little to reproach, on whose character no notable stain rests.¹ He was a noble man, living for great ideals; a monarch who understood what the society of his time needed—the restoration of order and peace, a return to the security that had once prevailed in the Roman empire under the salutary pressure of the Roman arms, and that was now to be safeguarded by the sword of the Franks. But Charlemagne was not simply an excellent sovereign and warrior; he was also an earnest and pious believer in religion, and his eyes were open to literature and art. His conquests were, like those of the other Carlovingian and

¹ The account of his great massacre of the revolted Saxons at Verden in 782 probably owes its origin to a mistake in the manuscripts. It is quite an obscure story; the number of the killed may have been 45 rather than 4500. (See Ullmann in the *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 1889, Heft 3, p. 156.)

Merovingian kings, his predecessors, victories of Christianity. His imperial title itself was an ecclesiastically consecrated dignity, if not bestowed, at least willingly recognised, by the spiritual head of Christendom. He was the centre of a circle of scholars and literary men, who have given his time the character of a Renaissance, a revival of the ancient world in art and science. Einhard and Alcuin, Paulus Diaconus and Angilbert lived with him, men of all countries, Franks and Anglo-Saxons, Lombards and Irishmen. He supported and encouraged them and others in their struggle for knowledge, often to the annoyance of the rude Frankish warriors, who did not always care for the work of the strangers, or even despised literature. They must sometimes have looked on wonderingly when their prince spoke the language of the "clerks" as easily as his own Frankish tongue, when he seemed to understand the Greek addressed to him. They may well have laughed when Peter of Pisa instructed the king in grammar and writing, and the pen slipped from the hand unaccustomed to such pursuits. They were, likely enough, vexed at his astronomical and literary studies with Alcuin. But Charlemagne went on with them. His love of art was declared in the splendour of his palaces, in the building of the cathedral at Aix-la-Chapelle, in his fancy for beautiful church ornaments. The chapel on the Valkhof at Nimwegen preserves the memory even now of the flourishing Romanesque architecture of his time. In Einhard's celebrated biography, the magnificent ecclesiastical vestments are mentioned that Charlemagne ordered made. Einhard speaks, also, of the collection of the old Germanic songs, chanting the deeds and wars of ancient kings, to which we perhaps owe the survival of many an old legend that might otherwise have perished in the troublous times after him. Charlemagne was greatly interested in the Frankish language. He gave Teutonic names to the months and chief winds, and

Einhard asserts that he commenced writing a Frankish grammar. Everywhere he promoted the establishment of schools, conducted by the clergy, and he kept a close watch on the progress in this department.

There he stands in his might, the stately Frank, as Einhard describes him, with his bright eyes, his joyful, friendly face and gray hair, his bull neck, his tall figure overtopping all others, enveloped in the simple national dress. He stands there in universal history as the creator of a new world, as the type of the German at rest, venerated by posterity as a legislator, a king of kings, a saint. Back to him, the nations of Western and Central Europe go in tracing the origin of their states and ancient laws, as princes go back to him in lauding their forefathers, and cities, in quoting their time-honoured privileges. Not idly has the Netherlander, also, ever attached peculiar significance to the name of Charlemagne. Legend has chosen him for one of its greatest heroes, recounting about him a whole series of tales, and grouping other fine figures around him. The song of the brave Roland, that of the stout-hearted Elegast, that of Charlemagne's renowned paladins, have spread his fame over the entire civilised world. And he well deserves that honour. He is the mighty keystone of a structure reared by the glorious Frankish nation, one of the mightiest peoples that have made their name known in history.





CHAPTER V

FALL OF THE CARLOVINGIAN EMPIRE

SOME have essayed to make Charlemagne the founder of a new epoch in the world's history, but they forget the speedy decline of the mighty Frankish monarchy. On the first page of the new book stands his famous name; the second records the fall of his grand empire. Less than a hundred years after his death, newly organised Western Europe was again in confusion, as before the rule of the Merovingian princes. The causes were chiefly four: the weakness of Charlemagne's successors, the diversity of the nations joined together, the growing power of the nobles, and the invasions of the Northmen.

Neither Charlemagne's son, Louis the Pious, the only one to survive him, nor his grandsons, nor his great-grandsons, were strong enough to rule over the great empire. The pious but feeble Louis had to give way to his rebellious sons. One of them, Lothaire, inherited the imperial title, but authority only over a portion of the realm, and transmitted it in like manner to his son, Louis II. After his death, the youngest son of the pious Louis, Charles the Bald, wore the imperial crown. Once again, Charles the Fat (881-887) united the title of emperor with dominion over the whole empire, but with shame and disgrace he covered that crown which, after his death, again lost for a long time its universal significance, becoming merely

an ornament of one of the many Carolingian princes that divided up the old empire among themselves. His nephew, Arnulf of Carinthia, king of Eastern Francia, possessed the imperial title for three years (896-899). Thereupon, the crown was but the plaything of the last descendants of the Carolingian family in Provence and Italy, where also they soon died out.

Domestic dissensions rent the Carolingians asunder; civil wars harassed their realms; savage incursions of the Northmen destroyed all prosperity. The Netherlands had their ample share of the disturbances of the ninth century. Repeatedly they passed from one hand to another. The great treaty of Verdun assigned the country at the mouths of the Scheldt, Meuse, Rhine, Ems, and Weser to the Emperor Lothaire, whose realm formed a long, narrow strip from the North Sea to the Tiber; the left bank of the Scheldt went to Western Francia, the kingdom of Charles the Bald. On the division of the emperor's dominions after his death in 855, King Lothaire II. obtained the northern half of his territory, which from the new ruler took the name of *regnum Lotharii*, in late Latin, *Lotharingia*. Lorraine is thus properly the region bounded on the north by the North Sea, from the Scheldt to the Weser, on the south running to the sources of the Meuse and Moselle, on the east reaching in places beyond the Rhine, in others not to it, on the west extending to the Scheldt and the sources of the Oise, Aisne, and Marne. The general name for these low countries during the Middle Ages was always Lower Lorraine. The second great treaty of partition, concluded in 870 at Meerssen, near Maestricht, joined a considerable part of this territory to West Francia. But nine years later all Lorraine returned to East Francia, and remained united with it. For a short time only, from 911 to 925, a king of West Francia, Charles the Simple, succeeded in annexing Lorraine to his dominions.

From 843, Flanders belonged to West Francia, the later France; the rest of the country, from 879, belonged to East Francia, the later Germany—a division that determined the fate of most of the Netherlandish provinces for the future. This was the result of the long wars and disputes in the house of the Carolingians. The scene of these wars and disputes was mostly not here but elsewhere, although Aix-la-Chapelle—the usual residence of Louis the Pious, the Emperor Lothaire I., and King Lothaire II.—was near enough to make the forefathers of the Dutch vividly interested in the strife. After the death of Lothaire II. (869), the Netherlands, however, were too far from the Carolingian centres of that time to be deeply involved in the contests for the throne. As remote sections of the great German empire, they dropped more into the background.

So Charlemagne's mighty empire fell to pieces in the course of the ninth century, and we cannot wonder at it, when we consider the heterogeneous elements composing it. What, indeed, had Frisians and Lombards, Aquitanians and Saxons, Bavarians and Neustrians really in common with one another? What held Franks, Frisians, and Saxons together in the Netherlands? Nothing but the strong hand of the great Carolingian himself. When that hand relaxed and weaker men took Charlemagne's place, the struggle had to come. Here also it was not absent. The Frisians were wholly subdued not twenty years before Charlemagne's death. He conquered them and regulated their laws, in about 800, and they served in his later wars. But it is not strange that they should use the first opportunity to regain their independence. They did that repeatedly in the time of the Northmen. We hear often that the Northmen were directly or indirectly aided by the Frisians, that the Frisians refused to take the field with the Franks against the pirates. And would the Saxons, subjected later than the Frisians, have

bowed more willingly under the Frankish yoke? Proofs exist to the contrary.

The growing power of the Frankish noblemen, no less than the diversity of nations, occasioned difficulties. As representatives of the distant king, the counts had an unusual position, giving them not only official consideration, but also official landed possessions and a right to a share of the revenue. The king, even Charlemagne, though watchful against abuses, had made over to the counts, in payment of their services, a fixed portion of the income from their districts—one-third of the fines, a certain amount of the tolls, and of the revenue from coinage and markets. Sometimes the counts could ask for voluntary contributions from the inhabitants of their districts. When, as often happened under Charlemagne's successors, the counts united several counties in one hand, their power must have become very considerable. Even without this union, the development of the system of benefices made the count a powerful man. Charles Martel and Pepin the Short had granted estates from their own domain as benefices to vassals, and, for want of their own land, they had robbed the church of rich possessions and treated them as royal property in the same way. The sons of Louis the Pious did not hesitate to follow this example. Charlemagne and his son, however, were too closely connected with the church to do so, and to this the former is largely indebted for the sympathy of the chronicle-writing clergy. The number of benefices was thus immensely increased, chiefly to avoid the difficulty of calling out all the fighting men by securing to the king in his vassals a sufficient military force always at his disposal. The counts, especially, received numerous benefices and joined them to their own estates, their *prædium* or *allodium*, in distinction from which the *beneficium* took, from the eleventh century, the name of *feodum*, or fief. Not only land, but also offices, particularly countships,

were bestowed in the ninth century as benefices. Originally the benefice was given and received for life only, but this changed also in the ninth century, and it then went from father to son.

So the count became more and more independent of the royal authority. Having large possessions in his district, still further increased by the royal lands received in fief, holding his office as a benefice, and transmitting it with his other benefices and estates to his children, the count—supreme judge, leader in war, governor of the county—came, in a time of diminishing prestige of the king and eternal dissensions, to be looked upon by the people as their real lord and master. His house grew more like the palace of a prince. This end was helped by the fact that the system of benefices was applied on a large scale by the great landowners to their own possessions. They, in their turn, became the lords of numerous vassals, who were bound to them by commendation. To a certain extent, the counts, about 900 A.D., might consider themselves as the masters in their districts, as hereditary possessors of territory that had been, by the king's will, temporarily bestowed upon their predecessors to be governed. Separate from the counts' government were and still remained the king's own estates, the *fisci*, under the management of special royal officials, and most property of the church which had acquired immunity.

A great factor finally came to the front, especially for the Netherlands—the raids of the Northmen, causing a state of confusion, of which the counts availed themselves to extend their power, again at the cost of that of the king. At the fall of the Roman empire, the safety of the North Sea was greatly diminished. First, the numerous tribes on the German and Danish coasts had spread the terror of their name along the shores of Britain and Gaul. From the seventh century, the inhabitants of Scandinavia, indiscriminately called Danes or Northmen,

appeared oftenest as sea-robbers. Charlemagne, towards the end of his reign, was compelled to guard the Gallic and Germanic coasts against their incursions by fortifying harbours and placing flotillas in the mouths of the rivers. Strong fleets were built at Boulogne and Ghent. The Danish King Göttrik already regarded Friesland and Saxony as his own, and was about to carry out his threats of attacking Charlemagne in Aix-la-Chapelle, when he was murdered. His successor made peace with the Franks, and domestic disputes occupied the Danes for some years, Charlemagne contenting himself with bringing his influence to bear in these disputes. Louis the Pious also interfered in Danish affairs, and supported the Danish prince, Heriold, against Göttrik's sons. He succeeded in giving a firm footing in Denmark to Heriold, who became his vassal and embraced Christianity with all his family. Heriold received a countship from the emperor, and his son and nephew were educated at the Frankish court. His adversaries evidently made this a pretext for attacking the Franks again. We read of a landing upon the Flemish coast in 820.

While this mixing in the quarrels of the Danish princes resulted in many a raid of the Danes upon Frankish territory, the fatal dissensions in the empire of the Franks itself offered the sea-robbers an opportunity of assailing the coasts with impunity. In 834, Danish ships penetrated for the first time to Utrecht and Dorestad. These two places, with Tiel and others on the large rivers, were again and again the destination of the Northmen's expeditions. Year after year the Danes came back, and everywhere cities and villages, castles and farmhouses were seen in flames. Whenever the emperor's soldiers approached, the pirates usually took to flight, and the Danish kings declared they would punish the culprits, but this did not prevent the Danes from appearing speedily again. The Danish King Horik demanded

Friesland for himself in 838. It appeared also that the Frisians were not always obedient to the emperor's commands, and even took part in expeditions of the Northmen to the English coast. It went so far that the emperor's sons called the Danes into the country to fight against their father or each other. Lothaire, the oldest of them and his father's chosen successor as emperor, made an alliance with Heriold and persuaded him to attack the country of his brother and enemy, Charles the Bald, on the Seine. He gave him Walcheren in fief, so that from there his brothers might be injured. Now the raids began in good earnest. Fleets appeared on the coasts and levied tribute on the inhabitants, who thought to escape pillage by payment, but did not always succeed in so doing. Notable was the expedition of 845, when the Danes conquered all Friesland, killed thousands of the inhabitants, and laid waste everywhere churches and convents.

At last, the Carolingian brothers saw the importance of working together. They leagued themselves at Meerssen against the Danes. King Horik, now alarmed, promised to end the incursions, and the death of Heriold, who was murdered by some Frankish counts, seemed likely to bring about peace. But now the latter's brother, Roruk, supported by one of the Carolingian brothers, Louis the German, opposed Lothaire. Roruk, at the head of bands of Northmen, succeeded in conquering Dorestad, and Lothaire saw himself obliged to recognise him as count there and elsewhere, provided he would defend the country against the ravages of his compatriots (850). Thus a great part of the future Holland came under Danish rule; the Frankish counts were placed under Roruk, who, like Heriold earlier, as a duke—a name he sometimes bears—stood over them. The raids seemed now about to end. In the following years, the expeditions of the Northmen were directed more towards regions

farther south. Ghent was pillaged in 851 by Heriold's son, Godfrey. Under Lothaire II. (855-869), affairs remained about the same, though it became more evident that the Northmen settled here were not to be trusted. Roruk and Godfrey, after failing to establish their authority in Denmark, assumed a doubtful attitude in Dorestad. Soon Utrecht fell (858) into the hands of the Northmen. Its bishop had to fly to the safer Odilienberg, near Roermond. The whole coast suffered severely in the same year. Egmont saw St. Adalbert's old church destroyed; at Noordwijk, the priest Jeroen was tortured and killed; the approaching Frankish army was dispersed; a multitude of women and children were dragged off into slavery. Roruk and Godfrey, even though they wished, were unable to restrain their countrymen; in 863, Dorestad was again ravaged and its prosperity finally destroyed. The fierce bands, now formidable by the cavalry which they had organised in imitation of the Franks, pushed along the Rhine to Neuss, where the king at last stopped them.

The story of the Northmen's expeditions is monotonous, but terrible in its monotony. It is made up of destruction, pillage, burning, murder, slavery. No matter who the leaders of the Northmen are—Heriold, Roruk, Rudolf, Rollo, Godfrey—their work is everywhere the same: the savage annihilation of all civilisation and prosperity. The old pirate, Roruk, was able, in the struggle between Louis the German and Charles the Bald, to keep his possessions in Friesland. In 874, the powerful Rollo fell upon Walcheren, defeated later the Frisians, and pushed along the Scheldt into Hainaut. For years he was the scourge of the Netherlandish coasts. No temporary joint action of the Carlovingians was of any avail. In 880, the Northmen settled down at Nimwegen in the old palace of the kings, there braved the army of Louis III. of East Francia, and at last departed after setting fire to the castle. A year later the king of West Francia,

Louis, inflicted a great defeat upon the Northmen at Saucourt. The Franks jubilantly sung the victory in the celebrated *Ludwigslied*.

“ A king I know, his name is Louis. . . . He raised high the battle-flag, and rode into the land of the Franks against the Northmen. . . . It was not long before he found the Northmen ; he praised God, for he saw what he desired. The king rode boldly on and sung a holy song, and all sung with him, *Kyri’ eleison!* The song was sung, the fight began : blood flushed their cheeks, as the Franks played. There every hero fought, but not one like Louis ; swift and brave, he was born to that. Some he cut down, some he pierced through : he poured out for his enemies a bitter drink. Woe to them, that they ever lived ! ”

Thousands of Northmen covered the field of battle. But, notwithstanding this brilliant victory, the Northmen still held Ghent, and made themselves masters of the Meuse country, where, under command of Godfrey, Roruk’s nephew, they erected a camp at Elsloo. The whole country from Maestricht to Arras, from Bonn to Luxemburg, fell into their hands. Cologne and Liege, Bonn and Aix-la-Chapelle were captured ; in the famous capital of the Carolingians, the fierce marauders stabled their horses in Charlemagne’s chapel. The great assembly at Worms realised at length the necessity of a general attack upon the Meuse camp, whither the Northmen constantly conveyed their booty. Under the Emperor Charles the Fat himself, who ruled over Charlemagne’s whole realm, Frisians and Bavarians, Franks and Saxons, Lombards and Thuringians, Neustrians and Alemanni moved together on the Elsloo camp and there surrounded the Northmen, whose leader, Godfrey, soon offered a treaty, that—it is almost inconceivable—was accepted unhesitatingly by the emperor. A large part of the close-pressed Northmen went away under Siegfried and others, after

receiving a great sum in gold and silver; Godfrey obtained the estates of his uncle Roruk in Friesland, and was converted to Christianity (July, 882). Is it strange that treachery was generally suspected, that a storm of indignation burst forth against the miserable emperor? Godfrey now governed Friesland, long since become a half wilderness, in which the ruins of churches, convents, towns, and farms showed where the Northman had set his foot. The natives were treated like slaves. In the Frisian laws we find indications of their condition, and fearfully frequent sounds the remark, "The first necessity is, whenever the child is a captive and in chains across the sea or southwards beyond the mountains, the mother may alienate the child's inheritance and with it help ransom her child and save its life." How often the Frisian must have trembled when he saw the crooked prows, ornamented with dragons' heads, nearing his shores, and the giant figures of the Northmen disembarking, covered with iron armour, armed with bow and battle-axe, inspired with the thirst for blood and plunder! How often the Frisian had to bow his proud neck in slavery, carried off with his countrymen to distant Scandinavia!

Godfrey's rule here lasted only three years. Like his predecessors, he allied himself with a Carlovingian, the illegitimate son of the Emperor Lothaire II., Hugh, who desired to get possession of Lorraine. Married to Gisela, his ally's sister, Godfrey quickly opposed the emperor. A fierce band of Northmen encamped at Duisburg, on the Rhine, and plundered as far as Mainz and Treves; it was apparent that Godfrey had supported his countrymen. In the summer of 885, Godfrey demanded of the emperor the surrender of some wine-raising country on the Rhine. At Herispich, where the Rhine and Waal separate, the emperor had a noted fighter against the Northmen, Margrave Henry, negotiate with him. During the negotiation the Northman conqueror was murdered. Hugh was

taken prisoner a few days later, his eyes were put out, and he became a monk. The dynasty of Heriold and his family came to an end with Godfrey the Northman. After this dynasty, which ruled nearly half a century over the Netherlandish coasts, there were no more Northmen princes. They did not succeed in establishing themselves permanently here, as in Normandy. The incursions were not yet over, though Western Francia was now chiefly harassed by the Northmen. In a celebrated battle on the Geule, near Meerssen, King Arnulf of East Francia was defeated in 891. The revenge for this defeat was the great victory at Louvain in the same year, when he inflicted a severe blow upon the Northmen. Though they were not driven away for good, their power was shaken, they gradually disappeared, their raids grew less frequent and fierce. We hear no more of fixed camps, only of landings from a few ships, as in 927 in Artois, in 935 in Friesland. This country saw the last of the Northmen sea-robbers early in the eleventh century, when they once more sailed up the chief rivers.

The Hungarians, the remnants of the old Huns perhaps, seemed destined to play their part. In the tenth century, from 917, this wild people, laying all Germany under contribution, threatened the southern sections of Lorraine with new ravages, from the side of the land this time. But the invasion of 954, when they reached Cambrai, was not followed by others of importance. Lorraine was not afterwards the prey of plundering nations, and soon it could again rejoice in a numerous population, making great progress in agriculture and commerce. From the beginning of the tenth century, people once more felt safe, and, in the later Holland and Flanders, there was a more settled state of affairs. The description by writers of the tenth and eleventh centuries of the inhabitants of the "low countries on the sea" testifies strongly to the barbarism prevailing after the incursions of

the Northmen. Here—they say—may be found insecurity, quarrelsomeness, disorder, unconquerable barbarity, the love of pillage. Flanders is noted as a land where dwelt a people “irregular in morals, ever ready to take up arms, nimble of tongue but not intelligent, of untamed wildness, and always inclined to the bad.” Thietmar of Merseburg, somewhat later, portrays the population of Lower Lorraine equally unfavourably: “Rightly this region is called the low countries,” says he, “for justice, obedience, charity, there sink as low as the sun. Robbers and persecutors of innocence are the masters. They care nothing for excommunication by the bishops.”

In those days, we find mention made in Western Germany of two duchies, Friesland and Lorraine. The former is spoken of in the great partition of the empire in 839; Godfrey the Northman is called duke, or even king, of Friesland. His fall ended the common government over the Frisian lands. No duke of Friesland appears again in history. But the existence of the name late in the ninth century proves that the Frisian people was then conscious of its separate nationality. The Frisian duchy was the lineal continuation of the earlier independent Frisian kingdom, but it was not taken as a duchy into the German empire of the Saxon kings.

Lorraine, on the contrary, was. In the time of King Zwentibold (895–900), Emperor Arnulf’s illegitimate son, the country ceded him by his father was the scene of severe contentions. Among the nobles opposing the king of Lorraine, Reginar Long-neck, a wealthy count in the district of Hasbania, came most to the front. He was illustrious by birth, his mother being a daughter of the Emperor Lothaire I. and his father a count in Toxandria. In his swampy fastness of Durfos on the lower Meuse, Reginar defied the king, and with other noblemen of Lorraine finally effected his fall. The whole country submitted to Arnulf’s legitimate son, Louis the Child, of

East Francia. But Reginar remained the chief personage of Lorraine, and as margrave he had there the rights appertaining in other sections to the rank of duke. When, on the extinction of the Carolingian house in East Francia (911), in opposition to the new king, Conrad I., he attached himself to the Carolingian of West Francia, Charles the Simple, he continued until his death, five years later, in possession of the ducal power. His son Gisibert succeeded him, and reigned for years in Lorraine as an independent prince, powerful by his numerous vassals. Disputes with the West Francian king and seditions in the "land of the Belgians" between the Marne and Rhine brought about, in 925, the reunion of Lorraine to East Francia, where the energetic Henry the Fowler then ruled. But Gisibert still kept his ducal dignity. Like his father, he fought the king, who sought to reduce the power of the hereditary dukes, but lost his life, in 939, at Andernach on the Rhine in a revolt against Otto the Great, his brother-in-law. His son died soon afterwards.

A period of anarchy followed for Lorraine. Otto the Great endeavoured to restore order by appointing his brother Henry, later his son-in-law Conrad, as duke, but they rebelled likewise and had to be removed. A native count, Otto, could only maintain the dignity of duke for a short time. Archbishop Bruno, of Cologne, the gifted brother of Otto the Great, at last pacified the country, his royal brother making him its duke in 953. He divided it six years later into Upper Lorraine, the Moselle country, where Count Frederick of Bar and Metz received the ducal title, and Lower Lorraine, the northern portion, where Count Godfrey of the house of the counts of Verdun obtained it. Bruno himself retained until his death the title of archduke of Lorraine—the Cologne archbishops later striving to derive from this title ducal rights in Eastern Lorraine. The duchy of Lower Lor-

raine thus extended from the Scheldt to the Rhine, from the mouth of the Meuse to Sedan and Andernach, the ancient boundary of Lower Germany. The history of the Netherlands, with the exception of Flanders which belonged to West Francia, may rightly be called, from the middle of the tenth century, the history of the duchy of Lower Lorraine. That dukedom is the unity, from which the multiplicity was developed of the numberless small states later appearing here. They stand in the same relation to that duchy as the later numerous little states between the Rhine and Elbe to the old duchy of Saxony, as the miniature kingdoms between the Vosges and the Lech to the old duchy of Swabia. In Lorraine the dissolution of the duchy was more rapid, owing in part to the inaccessibility of the marshy lands at the mouths of the rivers, in part to the crafty policy of the neighbouring French kings, who never gave up the hope of possessing Lorraine.





CHAPTER VI

RISE OF THE SMALL FEUDAL STATES

THE history of the duchy of Lower Lorraine is a sad story. It records the ceaseless wars waged by the dukes against the ruler of the German empire and against the counts of their own duchy; the border hostilities between Germany and France then in process of creation; the dissensions among the counts in the settlement of the different dynasties that appeared later in the old Lorraine lands. It is a tale of strife and desolation, of murder and deception, of treaties and plots—an unedifying drama, in which brute force opposes brute force, might is right, and the worst passions of man are unchained. This period, with that of the Northmen's incursions, comprising the centuries between Charlemagne and Frederick II., has been rightfully regarded as the darkest of the so-called Middle Ages. In those centuries, the madness of monarchs was the misfortune of their subjects. The chronicles and documents of the time speak of hardly anything else but war. With difficulty the historian builds up, from apparently disjointed data, the account of the evolution of the later states. By great exertion he delves out the traces of what the people underwent in those days. Now and then, from the fragmentary records, he succeeds in putting together the personality of this or that conqueror, perhaps of a single noble figure; as a rule, he must be satisfied with bringing to light but one side, mostly the

military or political side, of the personage's career. The inner life remains usually a closed book. Even the best known men of the time, kings and emperors, who attracted universal attention, were viewed from different points, and portrayed by writers of different parties—even they appear before our eyes only in general outlines. Commonly, the characters of the period are to us but shadows, arrayed as warriors and occupied chiefly in fighting and killing. In endless procession, they pass before our vision, monotonous in their appearance, monotonous in their disappearance. It is a comfortless spectacle, that is only to be followed when one tries to keep the eye fixed upon the slow development of the states, large and small, of the future.

The dukes of Lorraine were quite independent before Otto I., but he made them officers of the king, his representatives in the duchy, which became, as it were, a province of the realm and no longer a sort of allied state, as all the duchies, about 900 A.D., threatened to become. Duke Godfrey I. was the king's vassal, among his chief advisers, taking part in the ceremonies of his coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle. The duke of Lorraine, like the other dukes, stood at the head of all the counts in his duchy, but seems actually to have had little power over them. The consideration shown him rested principally upon his personal might, upon his own countships in the duchy. Among the counts in Lower Lorraine those of Hainaut took a prominent place. They belonged to the family of Reginar Long-neck and Gisibert. Among them, Reginar II. had, long after the death of his brother Gisibert, played a great part in Lorraine, aspiring even to ducal authority, but giving way before Archbishop Bruno's power. His sons, Reginar III. and Lambert, regained later their paternal inheritance with the help of the West Frankish Carlovingian, King Lothaire. Thus Lothaire hoped to strengthen his family's influence in

Lorraine and finally to get possession of the duchy. At first, he was successful. His brother Charles obtained from the Emperor Otto II. the ducal dignity in Lower Lorraine, which was taken from Godfrey II. of Verdun; Reginar III. of Hainaut became the son-in-law of Hugh Capet, Lothaire's greatest vassal, and with his help conquered, in 984, the chief towns of his hereditary country; Lambert, as count of Louvain, secured rich ancestral estates in Hasbania, and founded there a dynasty of his own. Connected with the foremost families of West Francia,—Charles with his Carlovingian relatives, Reginar and Lambert with the house of Hugh Capet,—they all took part in the struggle for the throne that broke out in 987 and put the Capetians in place of the Carlovingians. Duke Charles, the Carlovingian of Lorraine, residing at Brussels, was made prisoner by Hugh Capet, the new king of West Francia, and died at Maestricht in 1001. His insignificant son, Otto, the last West Francian Carlovingian, the last scion of the great family that had once ruled over half Europe and was now sunk to dependence upon its former vassals, possessed the ducal dignity in Lower Lorraine until 1005. He died soon, almost unknown, on the journey home from Italy, whither he had followed the Emperor Otto III. Lorraine was thus, during the whole tenth century, the scene of war. Armies of East and West Francia contended for possession of the country, the struggle being finally ended in favour of East Francia. Lorraine remained German territory, although the French kings retained influence in the duchy through their relation to the Hainaut family.

Amid this strife, we see various counts coming to the fore. We hear of counts of Valenciennes and Cambrai; of the powerful counts of Louvain; of those of Namur; of those of Looz or Loon. Eminent above all were the counts of the Ardennes or of Verdun, who, after the Carlovingian Otto's death, came again into possession of

the ducal title. Their kinsmen were the counts of Limburg, and to the south we find, in about 1000, the counts of Luxemburg or Lützelburg. Ecclesiastical dominions, too, were formed here. The bishops of Liege and Cambrai obtained, in the tenth century, rights as counts over extensive domains in their neighbourhood.

Especially powerful was the count of Flanders in the West Frankish country across the Scheldt. The first count here was the valiant Baldwin with the iron arm. The story of his rise is romantic. Son of a high official, a *missus* of Charles the Bald in Northern Gaul, he served this king of West Francia with his sword in the war against the Northmen. In love with the king's daughter, Judith, Charlemagne's great-granddaughter, Baldwin carried her off, the young widow already of two English kings, from the villa of Senlis and fled with his bride to Lorraine. The angry father refused to sanction the marriage, even though the pope and the bride's brother pleaded for Baldwin, and Baldwin threatened to join the Northmen. In 863, the king finally forgave the abductor of his daughter, and made him chief count in the country between the Scheldt and the sea, over the smaller counts. As margrave of Flanders, Baldwin settled in the castle of Bruges, from which place he sturdily defended the coast against the Northmen. Baldwin's descendants, thus tracing their ancestry in the female line back to the Carolingian house, remained in possession of Flanders, enjoying great independence of the West Francian, later French, crown. The Flemish ruler, margrave at first, became count in the tenth century. The counts of Flanders continued to be great lords. The successor of the first Baldwin, with the same name, married a daughter of Alfred the Great of England; his son Arnulf was brother-in-law of the Emperor Otto the Great, and supported him in Lorraine and against the Capetian Hugh of Francia. They belonged to the foremost princes of West Francia

and often defied the royal power. The Flemish counts were dangerous not alone to the French kings but also to the kings of Germany. We read of an attack of the Emperor Otto the Great upon Flanders, in which Ghent was to have a burgrave dependent on the German crown. The Flemish counts mixed in the troubles of Lorraine as well as in those of France. Arnulf II. (1000) supported his Carolingian relatives in Lorraine against the conqueror of the French crown, Hugh Capet, and his successor. His son, Baldwin IV., waged war against Henry II., the last German king of the Saxon house, who was finally obliged to grant fiefs to him. Baldwin thenceforth sustained the king against the nobles of Lorraine. His German fiefs are known in the history of Flanders as Imperial Flanders, while the portion depending upon the French crown bears the name of Crown Flanders. He and his successors played a great part in the continuous troubles of Lorraine during the eleventh century, in consequence especially of their connection by marriage with the counts of Hainaut.

A like position to that of the counts of Flanders west of the Scheldt, was taken in Friesland at the mouth of the Rhine, in the ninth and tenth centuries, by the counts of Kennemerland. They also were intrusted with the defence of the coast against the Northmen. About 885, a certain Gerolf held a countship there under the lordship of the Northman, Duke Godfrey. Count Dirk (usually considered Dirk I.), the founder of the monastery of Egmont, was, most probably, a son of this Gerolf. Gerolf and Dirk obtained from the Emperor Arnulf, and later from King Charles the Simple of West Francia, lands, of which Haarlem was the centre. Their successors enjoyed similar favours from the Ottos. The country between the Meuse and Vlie was subject to them. Dirk and his successors possessed, moreover, fiefs in Flanders, particularly around Ghent. They also were great lords, but in

the German kingdom. They acted a part in the Lorraine dissensions of the tenth century. Arnulf, Dirk's grandson, married Liudgardis, sister-in-law of the Emperor Henry II., thus connecting his family with that of the Saxon kings of Germany. The wife of the so-called Dirk I. was perhaps of the Carlovingian house of Vermandois: he himself is named in later times a descendant of Charlemagne. Better known than the first counts was the son and successor of Count Arnulf, Dirk III. His father lost his life, in 993, fighting the Frisians, the fierce inhabitants of the islands north-east of Kennemerland, and his mother, Liudgardis, had to contend with great difficulties during her guardianship over her minor son. Kennemerland and Maasland alone seem to have been kept for the young count. But he was not a man unresistingly to be despoiled of his heritage. He fought successfully against the powerful Utrecht bishop, Adelbold, and made himself master of a district on the Rhine belonging to the church of Utrecht. At last he settled in the marshy country on the Meuse, then called the forest of Merwede, began to clear land there, to build a castle, and to levy toll. Commerce on the Rhine, especially that of wealthy Tiel with England, was much injured by this toll, and the merchants applied to the emperor, Dirk's uncle, for protection against the young Frisian count. The bishop of Utrecht, claiming this tract, and the archbishop of Cologne came also with their complaints. At an assembly in Nimwegen at Easter, 1018, the emperor decided in favour of the plaintiffs, to the vexation of Count Dirk, who withdrew to his country to defend it against possible attack. The attack did not have to be waited for. Duke Godfrey of Lorraine himself, Bishop Adelbold, and other lords soon appeared on the Meuse with a numerous army, and landed in Dirk's territory near Vlaardingén, but the progress of the invaders was speedily checked by the ditches; suddenly stricken

by a panic, they fled in great confusion to their ships, pursued by the Frisians. Numbers of knights and counts were killed, three thousand according to some accounts; the duke himself was wounded and made prisoner; the bishop had a narrow escape. The neighbouring districts suffered so many losses that, says the chronicler, there was almost no family but had to mourn its dead. Later writers ascribe the panic to a voice from heaven, which is declared to have cried out, "Fly! fly!" July 29, 1018, brought the young count a complete victory. He retained possession of his land. Through the mediation of the liberated duke, the emperor was induced to confirm his nephew in the possession of the morass, which half a century later was called Holland, and from which the Frisian countship of Dirk's successors took the name of Holland. In the middle of the eleventh century, it embraced the coast from the mouths of the Meuse to the Vlie, taking in about the present South and North Holland. It may be said, in general, that the countship of Holland, springing from the "mark of Friesland," had about the same historical development as Flanders.

As powerful counts farther inland are named: Count Waltger of Teisterbant, whose line became extinct with his son Radbod; Count Wichman of Hamalant, one of the richest lords on the Rhine; his son-in-law and heir, Balderik; Count Hunerik, or Unroch, possessing Teisterbant and other districts, in about 1000; Count Ansfried, uniting under his sway much territory in the Meuse and Rhine country, and ending his life as bishop of Utrecht. None of these counts founded a lasting dynasty. The best known of them was Balderik, the husband of Adela, Count Wichman's daughter. The history of this couple, like Dirk III.'s, testifies to the disorder of the times.

Count Wichman, the founder of the nunnery of Elten, had two daughters, Luitgardis and Adela. The former, piously inclined, became the first abbess of the convent,

and was highly respected. Her sister Adela, on the contrary, was a woman of the world, expert at weaving and embroidery, but passionate, cruel, and imperious beyond measure. After her father's death, Adela, married to Imed, demanded the estates bestowed upon Elten, but the abbess refused, and the two sisters quarrelled. The sudden death of Luitgardis was, not without reason, attributed to poison administered by orders of her sister. Adela immediately seized the cloister's inheritance, but at the command of the Emperor Otto III. had to release it again (996). Imed dying, Adela married Balderik, nephew of Count Godfrey of the district of Attuaria (around Cleves). Balderik bore the reputation of a bold fighter. The husband and wife were soon heard from. Balderik took possession of Elten again, but by imperial orders speedily evacuated it. A new attempt, just after the emperor's death, was equally unsuccessful. His successor, Henry II., also protected the convent. Meanwhile, Balderik's uncle, Count Godfrey, died, leaving a half-witted son and a daughter married to the young Saxon Count Wichman. Between Balderik and this Wichman, there was now enmity concerning the guardianship of Godfrey's idiot son. Wichman's chief fortress was besieged by Balderik, and the left bank of the Rhine was terribly devastated. Finally the emperor restored peace, and Wichman went on a pilgrimage to Rome. The last invasions of the Northmen occurring at this time, Balderik distinguished himself in repelling them. Also he made use of Wichman's absence. He and his wife through her sons by her first marriage—the famous Bishop Meinwerk of Paderborn and Count Dietrich—ingratiated themselves into high favour with the emperor, so that Balderik soon received in fief from him the countship of his uncle Godfrey in Attuaria. Wichman, returning, opened war at once upon his enemy, and the Rhine and Meuse country again became a scene of destruction.

The appearance of Duke Godfrey of Lower Lorraine gave Balderik an opportunity to win over some discontented counts of Lorraine, but thereby made him lose the emperor's favour. Balderik's position now became critical. Bishop Adelbold of Utrecht, and even his own step-sons, declared against him. The younger of them was terribly punished for this. In 1014, Dietrich, in his castle of Uplade, near Elten, on the Rhine, was murdered by his own mother's orders. The other son, Meinwerk, was then with the emperor in Italy, but soon began an action against the murderess of sister and child, who with her husband had taken possession of her son's stronghold and was there defying Duke Godfrey, Bishop Adelbold, and young Wichman. She was condemned by the emperor at Dortmund. She and her husband paid for their misdeeds with the loss of a large part of their possessions. But their career was not yet over. Balderik allied himself with the emperor's enemy, Archbishop Heribert of Cologne, and began new disturbances, aiming now at Meinwerk's estates. Meinwerk succeeded in capturing his mother. Soon liberated, she had her own and her husband's old enemy, Wichman, murdered after a banquet at Uplade. All the murdered man's relatives and friends then united and laid siege to the robbers' nest of Uplade. Balderik fled, but Adela defended the place with great skill, even arming her women to deceive the enemy as to her strength. The approach of the emperor caused her to yield, and Uplade was demolished. Adela and Balderik found a refuge at Cologne. Then, with a band of robbers like himself, he occupied the castle of Heimbach, on the Ruhr, and made the country around unsafe. Driven from here, he roved about, until the emperor, in 1018, came to Nimwegen to restore peace. Balderik threw himself at the emperor's feet, but narrowly escaped from the wrath of his deadly foes. He fled from Nimwegen, and for some years led with his wife a wandering life on

the Rhine, dying in 1021, and being buried in a convent founded by him. Adela died shortly before him at Cologne, but her ashes, so the story goes, found no rest there; they were thrown into the Rhine, which immediately began to bubble and boil, as if its pure waters were desecrated by contact with her. The memory of the guilty pair lived long in the country.

After Balderik's death, two new families appeared in the Rhine, Meuse, Waal, and Yssel districts, those of the counts of Wassenberg and of Cleves. On the coast, we find, about the beginning of the eleventh century, the powerful family of the Brunos, coming from Brunswick, and possessing a territory that was called, like Holland, *markia Fresiæ*.

But the bishopric of Utrecht was, in the eleventh century, the strongest of the feudal states in the northern section of Lorraine. Like other ecclesiastical foundations, Utrecht, or rather the churches and convents of the old Trecht, had rich possessions early. Charles Martel gave to Willibrord's monastery of St. Saviour the towns of Trecht and Vechten with all belonging to them—land, water, farms, and inhabitants; four years later, he presented to Willibrord and his successors the villa of Elst in the Betuwe. Earlier, Pepin of Heristal, for the propagation of Christianity, had given to the monks tithes of the royal lands and serfs, of tolls and commercial contracts in Friesland, a donation that was confirmed by Charles Martel, Carloman, and Pepin the Short. The possessions of the Utrecht church were at first extended in its own vicinity. Charlemagne presented to St. Martin's, in 777, the villa of Leusden, on the Ems, with the neighbouring wilderness, freedom from taxation for merchants settling or temporarily staying there, and an island in the Lek, besides the church of Dorestad. But the following century was not favourable to the development of the Utrecht church. The Northmen, attracted by rich

Dorestad, seized also Trecht, drove away the bishop and his canons, and ravaged the town with its churches. Bishop Balderik, about 920, was able to leave his place of refuge. Not only did he restore Trecht and its churches, and improve the defensive works, but he also got again into his hands the possessions of the Utrecht church, lost in the period of the Northmen. It was probably at this time that the bishop began to figure as overlord in the possessions of the Utrecht convents and churches, without troubling himself much about their right to govern their own property. Thenceforth, Utrecht waxed powerful through the support of the German kings. The possessions of the church were greatly increased by princes and other persons. Numbers of farms, churches, and whole villages in the later provinces of Utrecht, Gelderland, Holland, Zealand, Friesland, Limburg; tithes in all manner of places; rights to woods and waters in the same districts—all belonged to the sanctuary of St. Martin, near which an industrious population had settled in the city of Utrecht. The bishops soon obtained rights as counts. The Saxon and Salic kings saw with dismay the growing might of their temporal lords. Holding by inheritance one or more countships, these lords commenced assuming an independent attitude towards the king, who now sought the support of the bishops. That was less dangerous. The bishops were either directly appointed by the prince, or he had a preponderating influence in their election by the higher clergy; moreover, they could not found hereditary dynasties. So we see, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the kings showing special favour to the bishops, and the bishoprics consequently ever becoming larger and more powerful. To this policy of the German kings, Utrecht owes the extension of its worldly territory. Greatly favoured by the kings, its bishop became a powerful lord in the Rhine country. We find the Salian even more than the Saxon kings at Utrecht. Conrad II. died

there, and was buried in the cathedral. Henry III. and IV. repeatedly celebrated Easter there. Henry V. was educated there by Bishop Conrad, and died at the royal palace of Lofen in Utrecht. The Utrecht bishops were considered the most eminent prelates of the realm. This partiality of the Salic emperors appeared especially in their attitude towards the disputes between Utrecht and Holland.

Count Dirk III. had, partly at Utrecht's expense, extended his rule towards the south-east. The battle of 1018 had confirmed him in the possession of this territory. The son and successor of the brave Frisian count, Dirk IV., took part in the movement against the Salian empire in Lorraine, where Duke Gozelo the Great of Lower Lorraine, the brother and successor of Duke Godfrey III., opposed the Salian family. With King Robert of France, Gozelo entered into a far-reaching conspiracy to expel the hated Salian. In the very next year, Gozelo was reconciled with Conrad II., probably because the latter promised to give him all Lorraine as a duchy, which was done in 1033 on the extinction of the Upper Lorraine house. At his death in 1044, his son, Godfrey IV. the Bearded, succeeded him in Upper Lorraine, while Henry III. appointed in Lower Lorraine Godfrey's incompetent and cowardly brother, Gozelo II. the Little. From this time, Godfrey, who had hoped to succeed his father in the whole duchy, was the king's deadly enemy. Godfrey IV., like his father before him, secretly allied himself against his sovereign with the king of France, with Baldwin V. of Flanders, and with the malcontents in Germany itself, where the severe famine of the last few years had produced terrible misery and disorder. Hungry peasants had attacked and devoured merchants and other travelers; corpses were dug up and eaten; children were enticed into by-ways and used as food. Godfrey soon persuaded his Lorraine subjects to bind themselves to

him by oath for three years. But the king took the field against him with a strong force, deposed him from the duchy of Upper Lorraine, and besieged his castles. To fortify his power, Henry gave to his brother-in-law, Baldwin V., the margravate of Antwerp, hitherto an hereditary possession in Godfrey's family. Godfrey soon had to submit, and was imprisoned in a castle on the distant Saale.

Our Frisian Count Dirk IV. now endeavoured to take advantage of these circumstances to occupy again the morasses of Holland, of which, apparently, he had been a short time before deprived. Henry III. engaged in a military expedition against the count, who was compelled to restore the land occupied, but naturally from that time was no longer to be trusted. Meanwhile Gozelo II. sickened and died. Godfrey was indeed pardoned, but received only Upper Lorraine back, while Gozelo's duchy went to his family's hereditary foe, Count Frederick of Luxemburg. Even in the South, Godfrey did not get all that his father and he had previously possessed. So he continued hostile to the king, when the latter stood at the summit of his power, when Charlemagne's empire seemed about to live again, when all Italy lay at Henry's feet. Godfrey wanted the whole of the old duchy, and would be content with nothing less. He secretly united in Lorraine all the emperor's enemies. Baldwin of Flanders, Herman of Hainaut, Dirk IV., all joined him. This doughty ruler of the marshes rose again, in 1047, and succeeded in repelling an attack of the mighty emperor. Simultaneously, Godfrey IV. fell upon Nimwegen, and with the Flemings destroyed the imperial castle there. Supported by the archbishop of Cologne, the bishops of Liege and Utrecht, and the margrave of Friesland, the emperor again declared the turbulent duke a rebel and deposed him. Then war raged once more in Lorraine. Count Dirk was, in 1049, defeated at Dordrecht,

and soon afterwards killed; the enemy seized his country; and Godfrey was unable to restore Dirk's brother and successor, Floris I. Soon Godfrey was hard pressed on all sides, and for the second time he had to surrender. But now, also, his captivity did not last long. In 1051, Flanders threatened, by the proposed marriage of the count's son, Baldwin of Mons, to Richildis, the widow of the last count of Hainaut, herself the last of Giselbert's descendants, to become united with that powerful countship, a great danger for the western frontier of the empire. Baldwin V. carried the marriage through. The only way of holding him in check that Emperor Henry could find was to release Godfrey, who received a small part of his fiefs, but accomplished little against his quondam allies, the Flemings. A ravaging expedition of the emperor in Flanders had slight success. The Flemings retained their hold on Hainaut.

Godfrey's career was not yet over. In Italy also the emperor had numerous enemies, strongest among whom was Marquis Boniface of Tuscia (Tuscany). This marquis now died, and his widow Beatrix, of Lorraine birth (she was the daughter of Duke Frederick of Upper Lorraine), married, in 1054, our deposed Duke Godfrey, whose star once more climbed high. He went to Italy. United with the influential Cardinal Hildebrand, later Gregory VII., he became more troublesome than ever to the emperor. Under the guidance of these two, Italy was on the point of casting loose from the German empire, when the emperor appeared. Godfrey felt too weak to withstand Henry, and secretly fled to Flanders. Allied again with Count Baldwin and the king of France, he pushed into Lorraine with foreign troops and laid siege to Antwerp, but on the emperor's approach submitted for the third time. He recovered his Italian possessions and some fiefs in Lorraine, but Frederick of Luxemburg remained duke of Lower Lorraine, and the Alsatian Count Gerhard

was duke of Upper Lorraine. Through the intervention of Cardinal Hildebrand, Godfrey obtained the promise of the succession to Lower Lorraine and was appointed imperial governor in Italy. His Flemish allies kept Hainaut as well as their other imperial fiefs. The emperor had to yield to his powerful vassal. Brilliant was the position of the former duke of Lorraine, now duke of Spoleto, Roman patrician, marquis of Tuscia, Pisa, and Ancona, count of Verdun, and other Lorraine districts, governor for the emperor in Italy. He became still more powerful when, in 1056, the emperor died suddenly, and his young son, Henry IV., succeeded to the throne. Godfrey's own brother, Cardinal Frederick of Lorraine, became Pope Stephen IX. Even the imperial title seemed now within the reach of the bold Lorrainer. But he did not rise so high. During Henry's minority, he ruled the empire for years, with Archbishop Hanno of Cologne, in the young king's name. On the death of Duke Frederick of Luxemburg, he received, as promised, Lower Lorraine, and reigned there five years until his death in 1070. His favourite residence, Bouillon, in the Ardennes, beheld him, shortly before his demise, bent with age and with so much misfortune and glory. His last moments are described in an old monastic book of St. Hubert. The abbot of the convent was shocked when he saw the great duke stooping before him and heard how, at the prospect of death, he had with tears in his eyes handed over his sword, the symbol of his warrior's life, to his son. The latter, Godfrey the Hunchback, succeeded him in Italy as well as in Lorraine. His marriage to his step-sister Matilda, the celebrated friend of Gregory VII., gave him also the Italian lands that his father had obtained by marrying Beatrix.

In his last years, Duke Frederick of Lower Lorraine, weak and sick as he was, could not maintain order in his duchy. The trouble this time was not from Flanders. Count Baldwin V. had enough to do in his old age as

guardian of the young King Philip I. of France; his connection with his son-in-law, William of Normandy, king of England after the battle of Hastings, and with his young nephew, Henry IV., gave him the character of a mediator between the great kingdoms of the West. His son, Count Baldwin of Hainaut, was not the disturber of the peace. The greatest difficulties were in the North. There the powerful coalition still endured of the bishops and the Brunswick margraves of Friesland against Holland, now governed by Floris I., the brother of Dirk IV. His strongest enemy was Margrave Egbert of Friesland, possessing the whole coast between Vlie and Ems. Egbert fought Floris until the Holland count was treacherously attacked and murdered (1061). Floris left a minor son, Dirk V., who now became count under the guardianship of his mother, Gertrude. It was a fine chance for the enemies of Holland. Bishop William of Utrecht, in particular, bestirred himself. He immediately appropriated everything that he could lay hands on. The poor widow tried to save herself by marrying Robert, the youngest son of Baldwin V. of Flanders, an adventurous knight, who had warred in Spain and the Orient against the Saracens, had sought a position at the Byzantine court, had headed Norman corsairs in the North Sea and the Mediterranean, and finally had taken refuge with Count Floris. Robert, afterwards called the Frisian, received at his marriage all Imperial Flanders from his father, and the Hollanders recognised him as the guardian of their young Count Dirk V. But he did not succeed in repelling the powerful enemies. Bishop William obtained from young Henry IV. the whole of Holland, while the estates formerly taken from Utrecht were given back to him. Robert the Frisian had to withdraw to the islands in the mouths of the Meuse and the Scheldt. The chroniclers rightly style him *Comes Aquaticus*, the Count of the Waters.

Gregory VII. against Henry IV., pope against emperor, church against state, the eternally memorable opposition, was then, for the first time in the German world, forcing itself powerfully upon all minds. Whatever modern historians may say about any earlier struggle between church and state, there is no doubt that only with Cardinal Hildebrand, from 1073 famous as Pope Gregory VII., did the papal see really antagonise the imperial power. Before then, the church had, as a rule, shown herself the servant of imperialism, though some popes had made their voices heard more loudly than others. But a new spirit pervaded the church. Soon after Europe recovered from the bad dream of the Northmen's incursions, the church awoke to new life. Cluny, the Benedictine convent in Burgundy, had been the cradle of that new life. Its abbots, Odo and Odilo especially, had, through the whole tenth century, set the example of monastic reformation, of a higher and nobler idea of life. One diocese after another imitated Cluny. Abbot Gerard of Brogne was the great monkish reformer of Lorraine and Flanders (950). The Cluniacensian spirit soon reached worldly Rome, where the same tenth century had seen a most shameful state of affairs. The young Emperor Otto III., educated under Cluniac direction, raised, in 996, to the papal throne an adherent of the reform party as Gregory V. For half a century, empire and popedom worked together, closely uniting temporal and spiritual power. Emperor Henry II. supported the Cluniacensians. Henry III. also used his preponderating influence in favour of the reform party, which demanded not only strict morality, but desired, in the first place, to purify the church itself from simony, the giving and taking of ecclesiastical preferment for money, and by maintaining sacerdotal celibacy to strengthen the church and rid it of worldly tendencies. Finally, it called for the prohibition of lay investiture, the bestowal of ecclesiasti-

cal dignities by laymen. Although the prohibition of simony and of marriage for the clergy excited great opposition, with the help of Henry III. and the young Henry IV. the popes had their way, and the principles of the reform party triumphed more and more in the German empire. But the abolition of lay investiture, first pronounced by Gregory VII. at the synod of 1075, set king and pope against each other. In the course of that year, an agreement seemed possible, but the king saw in the pope's declaration an attack on the royal prerogatives and refused it. This was the beginning of the contest. January 8, 1076, Gregory wrote to the king a letter full of reproaches, threatened him with the ban of the church, and summoned him before a synod. The young monarch, elated by his subjection of a Saxon rebellion, called his German bishops together at Worms and, with their approval, deposed the refractory pope. Then, on February 22d, the latter excommunicated the king. The struggle at once looked serious for both sides. Soon all Germany was split into two parties, the imperial and papal, which were to oppose one another for centuries there and in Lorraine.

In 1070, died Baldwin VI. of Mons, count of Hainaut and Flanders, Robert's brother, having succeeded his aged father three years before, and his widow, Richildis, now contested the right of Robert the Frisian, as uncle, to the guardianship of her two sons. Civil war followed in Flanders, Countess Richildis relying upon the feudal lord, young King Philip of France. She was able also to secure the support of Henry IV. and the bishop of Liege by placing Hainaut in the king's hands, he giving it to Liege. But the Flemings supported Robert. At first, Robert was driven away to Saxony. Soon the Flemish nobles called him back, and with their aid he defeated Richildis at Cassel (February, 1072), where he took the countess herself prisoner and saw his oldest

nephew die. Henry IV.'s intervention put an end to the strife in 1076. Richildis obtained Hainaut for her second son, Baldwin, but Robert was invested by Philip of France with Flanders, and received in fief Imperial Flanders from Henry IV. Thus, after a short union, Hainaut and Flanders were again separated.

In Holland, too, the struggle was carried on with vigour, and here Robert was not so fortunate in the beginning. Duke Godfrey, in 1071, was intrusted by the king with the war against the Fleming; aided by Bishop William of Utrecht, he seized the country anew and subdued the Frisians in the North. At the peace, the major part of Holland came into his possession. Probably young Count Dirk had little left but the group of islands in the South. Holland seemed annihilated; Utrecht was flourishing. During four years, the powerful duke of Lorraine was overlord in Holland. They were the years in which King Henry needed his help in Germany and Italy—here against Gregory VII., there against the rebellious Saxons. Faithfully the noble Godfrey stood up for his king. He and Bishop William of Utrecht were the pillars of the royal authority. The latter, especially, an unwearied adversary of the pope, urged Henry IV. to strong measures against Gregory. Bishop William was the man at the council of Worms to push through the deposition of the “perfidious monk on the papal throne”; shortly before his own death, he anathematised the pope most violently in a Lenten sermon before the royal court at Utrecht, unterrified by the lightning that destroyed his cathedral the very same day. Godfrey, on the contrary, was a gentle character, everywhere esteemed for his talents. His sudden death by assassination at Delft was a serious blow to the kingdom as well as to Utrecht. Bishop William soon afterwards breathed his last in the same city (1076). Both deaths were regarded by contemporaries as a judgment of God in favour of the pope.

The Hunchback's nephew and heir, Godfrey of Bouillon, son of his sister and a count of Boulogne,—a French prince consequently,—obtained the ancestral lands of his family, also the margravate of Antwerp, but the duchy of Lower Lorraine was bestowed by the king upon his own two-year-old son, Conrad. The renowned but restless race of the Ardennes counts was too powerful to please the king. To a Godfrey of Bouillon, could he, least of all, confide the important post of duke in the Lorraine so coveted by the kings of France. Bishop Conrad succeeded to Utrecht. Like his predecessor, he favoured king against pope, but his influence was less. Henry IV., however, respected him highly, and gave him his son to be educated in the old city of the bishops, so often the abode of the Salian monarchs. He presented to him conquered Holland after Duke Godfrey's death. The bishopric's power was greatly extended by the king in consequence of an insurrection of Egbert II. of Friesland. Margrave Egbert I. was succeeded, in 1068, by his son, Egbert II. The latter, though a nephew of Henry IV., speedily became one of the king's most implacable enemies, repeatedly taking up arms against him, and being therefore deprived of his imperial fiefs. Later, Egbert appears to have received back his lands, but a new rebellion, in 1085, brought him once more into disgrace. Again Egbert was reconciled with the king. But he soon stretched his presumptuous hand out for the royal crown, ever unsteady on Henry's head by reason of the contest with the pope. Then the king had his treacherous relative, as an enemy of the empire, stripped of all his possessions by a court of princes at Quedlinburg in Saxony. So, in 1089, Oostergoo and Westergoo went for good to Utrecht. Egbert died in that year, and with him the illustrious family of the Brunos became extinct. Their memory still lives in old Frisian legends of Saxo, Bruno, and Friso, mythical fol-

lowers of King Priam of Troy, and the founders of Saxony, Brunswick, and Friesland.

What became of the districts between the Ems and the Lauwers at this time is unknown. Perhaps they formed the "countship in Friesland" presented by Henry V. to Count Henry of Zutphen. In 1101, the Saxon Margrave Henry the Fat, of the powerful Billung family, lost his life in an attempt to subdue the Frisian country. Thenceforth, the almost inaccessible region east of the Lauwers rejoiced in a peculiar condition. Neighbouring counts and lords often exercised authority there, but obtained little more than a right to some revenue. The Frisians were there split up into a number of small aristocratic republics, with the land owning nobility very prominent, with statutes and laws existing from the beginning of the eleventh century. It is not improbable that these laws may be attributed to a general court sitting at the *Upstalboom*, an oak near Aurich.

Holland, meanwhile, freed itself from the Utrecht yoke. Helped by his step-father, Robert of Flanders, young Dirk V. pushed into Holland shortly after the Hunchback's death. He assailed Bishop Conrad in the castle of Ysselmonde, burned it, and made him prisoner. The prelate gave the young count his possessions again, and the countship was saved from a perilous crisis. East of Utrecht, a powerful neighbour arose in the count of Guelders. Two Flemish brothers, settling early in the eleventh century at Wassenberg and Cleves, soon overshadowed all the other counts around them. Gerhard of Wassenberg's descendants possessed, in about 1100, besides Guelders, parts of Hamaland and Teisterbant and rich estates on the Waal. The first Count Gerhard of Guelders appears perhaps in 1064, certainly in 1096. The second Gerhard married Irmingarde of Zutphen. The counts of Zutphen are first known at the beginning of

the eleventh century. Of them the most noted is, about 1100, the rich Otto of Zutphen, whose male line died out some years later, so that his daughter Irmingarde brought the countship to the Guelders family. Her son Henry was the first count of Guelders and Zutphen.

Thus, about the beginning of the twelfth century, the northern part of Lower Lorraine was divided into a small number of feudal states—Holland, Utrecht, and Guelders. Scattered here and there were still to be found independent little countships and lordships. The least united, and therefore the least powerful, of the three great states was Guelders, which included a number of small lordships and ecclesiastical lands.

The same development of small states from the great duchy was seen in the southern sections of Lorraine, which name began in the twelfth century to give place to that of Netherland, *terra inferior*, or Netherlands, *terræ inferiores*. More and more, the authority of the duke of Lorraine dwindled away; his dignity gradually became a mere title. Godfrey of Bouillon was, in 1089, invested with his uncle's duchy, but he took part in the first crusade and found glory and an early death in the Orient (1100). His successor as duke was the turbulent Count Henry of Limburg, who traced his descent from the house of Ardennes, was a grandson of Duke Frederick of Lower Lorraine, and who almost forced his appointment upon the emperor, but never supported him strongly, having little power to make even his own title universally recognised in Lorraine. He was constantly at war with the powerful counts in his duchy. His adherence to Henry IV., when the unhappy monarch sought refuge from his son at Liege, cost the duke his duchy, which was bestowed by Henry V. on Count Godfrey of Louvain (1106). Duke Henry was himself imprisoned at Hildesheim, but escaped to Aix-la-Chapelle, was there defeated again by Duke Godfrey, and placed in confinement. He after-

wards kept only Limburg, but his descendants continued obstinately to claim the ducal title. From this time, the ducal dignity in Lower Lorraine was for years an apple of discord between the two houses of Louvain and Limburg. Three generations of dukes of both dynasties contested with one another successively the ducal authority in Lorraine. The kings of Germany espoused now one, now the other side. Conrad III. gave both the title of duke. Of this period is the celebrated Grimberghen war, from 1130 setting Brabant ablaze and lasting years. Mechlin and Grimberghen were the chief scenes of strife. Three dukes of the Louvain family fought the powerful vassals established there in a sharp struggle, from which, a few centuries later, an epic poem took its materials, a tedious Netherlandish Iliad, wherein Flemings and Hollanders, men of Hainaut and of Liege, play a part. Finally, Duke Godfrey III. of Louvain obtained the victory, in 1159, and razed the castle of Grimberghen. With its valiant family he was reconciled by Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. After half a century of war, the two ducal houses also had made peace in 1155. On and across the Meuse, the Limburgers retained the ducal rights and possessions; farther west, they were held by the dukes of Brabant and Lorraine, as they began to be called. Outside of their own lands, both were of slight importance. The ducal dignity had greatly declined.

The lesser lords in the South also took advantage of this state of affairs. As the dukes of Brabant and Limburg overshadowed the smaller counts in their territory, so too the counts of Namur, Hainaut, and Luxemburg rose over their numerous but less powerful neighbours. In the middle of the eleventh century, Hainaut had been temporarily united with Flanders, and had eventually received a new dynasty from the family of the Flemish counts. The Hainaut counts also increased their power by the purchase and conquest of lands, by securing the

guardianship over the possessions of convents and churches. We see the same happening in Namur, which, in the middle of the twelfth century, was united with Luxemburg. The history of the rise of these countships is, in general, the same as that of the more northern feudal states. War, purchase, marriage, inheritance, are the causes of union, which is sometimes of temporary nature, sometimes of longer duration.

More remarkable is the formation of the bishoprics of Cambrai and Liege. In 1007, the bishop of Cambrai was invested with the dignity of count in the district of that name, after immunity had been obtained a few years earlier for the bishopric's already considerable possessions in the neighbourhood. The little diocese had great difficulty in holding its own against Flanders and Hainaut. The vicinity of these powerful states prevented its farther extension. Liege, much earlier, had swallowed up numerous abbeys, and (980) secured immunity for all its possessions. Like Utrecht in the North, Liege in the southern part of Lower Lorraine was favoured by the German kings and emperors as a counterpoise to the powerful temporal lords of the neighbourhood, and received rights as count over surrounding country. Rights of coinage and hunting, in 980 the right to all the royal revenue in the bishop's territory, increased the powers of the bishops of Liege. It is not surprising that we see these spiritual lords taking an active share in the dissensions of the temporal lords around them. Bishop Notker of Liege played a great part under the last Ottos in the troubles of Lorraine. The noble Bishop Wazo was one of the most formidable enemies of Duke Godfrey the Bearded, and noted for his steadfast fidelity to Emperor Henry III. Dietwin of Liege put himself on the same side, with the Utrecht Bishop William. Liege and Utrecht, allied with Cologne, repeatedly opposed the counts of Holland. Dietwin was prominent in the contest against Robert the

Frisian of Flanders. His successor, Bishop Henry, though friendly to the party of reform, remained as faithful as possible to the excommunicated Henry IV. He is celebrated for the Truce of God of 1081, after his example introduced by Cologne into the whole archbishopric. That Truce of God put a temporary end to all fighting on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday of every week, besides on the fast days around Christmas and Easter, and on the saints' days. Shortly afterwards, sprang up the famous court for the maintenance, in the diocese, of order and justice, the *Paix de Liège*, presided over by the bishop, and composed of the higher ecclesiastics and laymen. All the laymen of the bishopric were under its jurisdiction, and its judgments were rigorously executed. Henry's fidelity to the king brought him into trouble with the popes, but he continued to follow the same line of conduct, as did Bishop Otbert, who came after him. We need not wonder when we see this bishopric also constantly growing by the favour of the kings, when we find at Liege, as at Utrecht, the Salian monarchs often sojourning for Easter or Christmas, when finally we see Henry IV. in his last days seeking support especially at Liege.

Here, in 1106, was played the last act of the dramatic picture furnished by the history of King Henry IV. From here the unfortunate sovereign endeavoured to arm the Lorrainers against his rebellious son, to enter into alliance with France and England, even with Denmark. Bishop Otbert was his chief stand-by, and Duke Henry of Limburg and Lower Lorraine supported him. Through Otbert's mediation, the king at the eleventh hour sought, by a complete submission, to win over the pope, to whom he was still hostile. All was in vain. The princes of the empire, assembled before Cologne under command of the turbulent young king, Henry V., sent to the old monarch at Liege the news of his deposition. Amid this last

struggle, Henry IV., in August, 1106, died in the loyal city. Though laden with the ban of the church, he calmly departed this life. His body was deposited in the cathedral of Liege by Bishop Otbert. But now the interdict struck the bishop also. The dead emperor's corpse had to be dug up. It was thrust into unconsecrated ground outside the town, but soon again disinterred by the young king's orders and conveyed to Liege, where the faithful people greeted it with all signs of veneration, and were induced with difficulty to deliver it up to his unmerciful son. Not until five years later, did the dead body find rest in the consecrated earth of the cathedral of Speyer. After Otbert's death in 1119, there arose a sharp contest in the bishopric of Liege between the papal and the imperial parties, each having its own candidate for the vacant see. War ravaged this part of Lower Lorraine several years. Armed interference of the emperor himself had repeatedly to occur. The lord of Valkenburg was a violent opponent of the emperor, who finally laid waste his castle. The Limburg and Louvain parties, disputing over the duchy, made use, for their own purposes, of these dissensions, which, after five years, were at last settled by the accession of Bishop Albero, a brother of Duke Godfrey of Louvain. After his death, too, the bishopric became the subject of discord between neighbouring lords, until finally Albero's competitor, Bishop Alexander, accused of simony, held the field. Affairs in the diocese thus left much to be desired.

Besides Liege, Hainaut, Namur, Brabant, and Limburg, smaller feudal states were also found here. North of Liege, the countship of Loon, or Looz, still existed, the rulers of which, related to those of Namur, had their seat in the castle of Looz. On the Semoy, lay the countship of Chiny, the possessors of which descended from the family of the Ardennes. Thus there were formed, from the ninth to the twelfth century, in Lower Lorraine, a series

of large and small feudal states, all composed of a number of smaller territories, brought together by marriage, purchase, voluntary cession, investiture, or conquest, and expanding later in the same way. None of these small states constituted geographically a whole. Liege lay partly on both banks of the Meuse, from Maestricht to Namur and Dinant; another section was in the Ardennes around Bouillon and St. Hubert; a third—quite cut off—around Givet, between Namur and Hainaut. Close by Liege, in the middle of Liege territory, lay on one side Brabant Heristal, on the other, Fléron, belonging to Aix-la-Chapelle. In other states, numbers of small lords had been able to maintain their independence: those of the old Batenburg in the Betuwe; those of Loon and Bredevoort in Münster; several lords in Zutphen; the counts of Kuik, Duras, Aerschot, the lords of Breda, Strijen, Grimberghen, Ravestein, Boxtel, etc., in Brabant; the counts of Avesnes, Oostervant, and Chimay in Hainaut; those of Hoorn and Kessel, the lords of Heinsberg and Valkenburg in the Meuse country. If the numerous and widely scattered possessions of the religious establishments be also considered, and the small freeholds and feudal estates again bestowed by counts and lords upon their vassals, some idea may be formed of the variegated map that a geographical representation of the division of Lower Lorraine in about 1100 would offer.





CHAPTER VII

EARLY FEUDAL SOCIETY

THE feudal states all arose from the transfer of the rights of count to families that managed to keep them in hereditary possession, either with or without the king's consent. These rights were stretched out to include government and the administration of justice, taxation of the inhabitants, and military authority. The king was soon compelled to make over the *regalia*, his rights as king in the countships. Bishops of Utrecht and counts of Flanders exercised the right of coining money as early as the tenth century; the Brunos in Friesland possessed it in the eleventh century; and so did the counts of Hainaut and other lords of Lorraine. Coins of Holland specifically are not known before the end of the twelfth century. These local coins drove out the royal money from the various markets, particularly when the latter currency became, in the twelfth century, more and more debased. The right of establishing markets was also lost, and though the king usually retained longer the tolls, at least on the chief rivers, these, too, fell at last. From the twelfth century, all the royal rights gradually went into the hands of the counts and bishops. So it was with the king's other possessions, the royal estates, the rights of hunting, fishing, brewing, milling, of protecting travellers for a compensation, of raising tithes. These all were secured by the counts, who in the

twelfth century quite filled the king's place in their countships. The king, as supreme feudal lord, had something to say in questions of succession, union of countships, and the like, but that "something" grew gradually less.

In the twelfth century, the counts were no longer officials: they were the almost independent vassals of the great overlord, the king. Often also the lesser lords had exchanged their official dependence for the feudal bond. The spiritual lords, the bishops especially, were no longer merely "vassals of God," but vassals of the king as well. All strove to diminish the limitations and burdens laid on them by feudalism, to become lords of the land and independent of the king. This was not very difficult, since they possessed all the prerogatives, and the royal authority in Germany was fast weakening.

The counts and bishops began, in the tenth century, to act as the king had done. They sought to bind vassals to themselves by presenting them benefices; they made their officers and friends the possessors of important fiefs. Thus each countship had a number of under-vassals, recognising the count for their lord, as he the king. Being nearer, and governing more vigorously, the count was assured of the submissiveness of his vassals. Not until a few centuries later, was he to see that his nobility—every freeman holding a benefice being then counted noble—might take the same attitude towards him as he had previously assumed towards his own feudal lord. These new benefices also speedily became hereditary. This nobility served the count chiefly in war; the reason of its being was the need of his ever having at his disposal a strong army of vassals. From Roman times, the general name for a soldier had been *miles*. Later, this name was restricted to the soldier fighting on horseback. About 1000, it began to be applied only to the representatives of the new nobility, who, finding their mission in war and forming an hereditary caste, were to play a great part in

feudal society as *milites*, or knights. No longer the free ownership of land, but service as a mounted soldier became the nobleman's distinguishing characteristic. He was more respected if at the same time a landowner, but he might be without land, or even liberty. *Miles* and *nobilis* were synonymous terms. Among the knights, some were intrusted by the count with the defence of one or more of the numerous castles scattered over the country. These castles appear chiefly to have been erected as defences against the Northmen, after the manner of the ancient Roman and German watch-towers, and were mostly still of wood, but sometimes of stone. They soon became the places from which vassals braved their lords. Some noblemen, appointed burggraves by king or duke, succeeded in obtaining a domain around their castles. Thus arose the burggravian families of Cambrai, Ghent, Bruges, Valenciennes, and other places in Flanders. The counts in their turn named later, in their own castles, burggraves, whose position raised them above the other common knights. In Holland there were the burggraves of Leyden and Voorne; in the bishopric of Utrecht those of Utrecht, Montfoort, Coevorden, and Groningen; in Flanders those of Cassel and St. Omer; in Brabant those of Brussels; in Hainaut those of Mons. Other knights also built strongholds, either with or without the count's approval, usually taking their name from their castle or fief.

It is evident that in a society, like that of about 1000, the freemen must diminish in importance. If they wished to hold their own amid the incessant wars, they had to appeal to the protection of some powerful lord. This they did by becoming tenants, vassals, servants, or even slaves of the neighbouring knight or church. If they remained common vassals, they kept their freedom, and received their own land back as a fief. As tenant farmers, they had usually the hereditary lease of a piece of ground,

paying annually a certain share of its products. As servants, serfs, or slaves, they dropped into different degrees of servitude. Thus, after the Carlovingsians, the great estates came more and more into the hands of lords of knightly birth, the free-born peasants existing only as farmers or vassals. Towards the free farmers, the lord soon came into the same relation as towards the serfs and bondmen under his jurisdiction. These farmers often submitted, and gradually the freemen's court disappeared, formerly regarded as the sheet-anchor of ancient German freedom. Thus servitude slowly increased. Safety of person and property was bought by the surrender of personal independence and rights that had once been the pride of the forefathers, but which could not now be maintained. The slaves were in the worst situation, but under the influence of the church their condition was sometimes alleviated, and made more like that of the serfs.

After the Carlovingsians, great estates were the predominant economic feature. The old mark had lost much of its importance, and now exerted no great influence on the development of society. More than in Carlovingsian times, the landlord was the chief personage of society, and all the elements of the population had to bow to him. This period, from the ninth to the twelfth century, rightly bears the name of the period of great estates, while the earlier period is called that of the free mark organisation, and the later that of the cities. At the end of this period, in the eleventh century, the beginnings of a new state of affairs were plainly to be noted, characterised by the rise of commerce over agriculture. Commerce, and not agriculture, became gradually the all-ruling factor in the evolution of social conditions, a commerce that was no longer content with the simple barter of commodities, but began to make ample use of the medium of exchange—money. The value of money

was more felt also on the great estates. Instead of produce in kind, came money; farmers often brought to their landlords, not a portion of the harvest, but a certain sum of money at fixed times. This was an extremely important change, occurring in the Netherlands chiefly in the twelfth century, and having great influence on all society.

From the ninth to the twelfth century, society was constantly on a war footing. In Lorraine, war was everywhere the order of the day, and the pillage and destruction of each other's property was the main occupation of counts and lords. The time of the Northmen especially was a period of fierce strife. Not only the commerce and industry coming up under Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, but also the civilisation then developing was annihilated in Lorraine by the Northmen's incursions. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, commerce and industry again revived in and around the great estates and fortified places; intellectual development once more appeared in the convents and bishops' cities. Cologne was the metropolis. Its commerce reached to England and the Elbe, Weser, Moselle, Scheldt, and Meuse countries. Tolls on the chief rivers again become important; markets are established or extended; toll-lists, like that of Coblenz at the beginning of the twelfth century, mention a number of commercial places: on the Meuse, Dinant, Namur, Huy, Liege, Maestricht; on the Rhine and Waal, Utrecht, Tiel, Nimwegen, Bommel, Herewarden, Duisburg; on the Scheldt, Antwerp and the Flemish cities; on the Yssel, Deventer. In the North, Groningen and Stavoren are already notable. The same lists and a charter of Henry V. concerning duties at Utrecht give us some idea of the principal commodities.

From the Liege towns on the Meuse come metal-work—kettles particularly—goat skins, and wine. The Flemings export wool, cheese, and other animal products.

From the Rhine and Waal come salmon, eels, wax, and wines, the latter probably imported from France, and the neighbouring Rhine district. Herrings and salt are brought from the coast by the Frisians; they take grain and herrings from the Baltic ports to the Utrecht market. Slaves, horses, falcons, swords, leather and linen goods were also among the commercial wares of the country. In Friesland, cattle, butter, and cheese were still the chief products, and the cloth industry flourished. We find the same products mentioned in Holland and Zealand. There, too, sheep were raised on the downs, and grain. In the Betuwe and Zutphen especially, grain was cultivated. Everywhere we note geese and swine among the domestic animals. In the watery North, the fisheries are of great importance. The heaths of Drenthe, the Veluwe, and Brabant, the forest near Nimwegen and Cleves, the Ardennes, are the hunting grounds.

The life of the merchants themselves does not altogether escape our view. We find them settled in places convenient for commerce near castles, monasteries, or important toll-houses. The gathering of their wooden dwellings at the castle of Utrecht was called a city. There yearly and weekly markets were held. The inhabitants of Utrecht obtained, in 1122, with those of Muiden, certain privileges from Bishop Godebald and Emperor Henry V. A century earlier, those of Tiel boasted of a *carta* from the emperor, authorising them to administer justice on themselves. Alpertus calls the citizens of Tiel disorderly, rude, deceitful, perjured, adulterous people. Doubtless this unfavourable description is owing to dissensions between the clergy and citizens of the thriving place. The life of the merchants was not without care in those troublous times; they had to contend with great difficulties in their business, chiefly in consequence of the decay of the royal authority, which had been so advantageous to them in flourishing Carlo-

vingian days. They saw their safety diminish, now that they were dependent on the good-will of the numerous little lords of the land, now that the central government was no longer strong enough to restrain the robbers on highways and rivers. Injurious to them, also, was the granting to the petty rulers of the right to hold markets and coin money. Thus uniformity of money, weights, and measures was lost. But practice brought improvement. In place of the Carolingian money, weights, and measures, those of important commercial towns, of Cologne in particular, came into use. The Cologne silver mark, of 12 *solidi*, each making 12 *denarii*, or pennies, became the monetary standard in the Netherlands. The English mark of sterlings, current in Flanders, weighed, like that of Cologne, 234 grammes. A Cologne penny was equivalent to an English sterling, showing commercial relations or rivalry between Cologne and England. Besides the Cologne pennies and English sterlings, we find local money, weights, and measures used in the Netherlands.

Great was the diversity in the population of the rising cities. First, there were the free merchants; then, serfs and slaves, belonging to a lord, convent, or church, and employed as labourers or tillers of the soil; and, in addition to these two classes, the *burgenses*, the defenders of the castle, enjoying certain privileges. The most important class was that of the merchants, in the tenth and eleventh centuries sometimes united in guilds, associations originally of a religious character, with rights secured to them by the king or the lord of the land. Besides Utrecht, Muiden, Stavoren, and Tiel in the North, we may here mention Valenciennes, which in the eleventh century could show a strong merchants' guild. The merchants also of Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, Liege, Antwerp, Louvain, Brussels, Tirlemont, Namur, Huy, Dinant, and other places early possessed rights confirmed in writing by counts and bishops. Flanders, Brabant, and Liege espe-

cially saw, in the twelfth century, the rise of numerous merchants' guilds, *caritates*, *hansæ*. They were far less numerous in the North. It appears from this also that the North developed less rapidly, an assertion sufficiently supported by comparing its early history with that of the southern provinces. In Roman times, the Rhine had been the real frontier of the Roman territory; what lay beyond was the land of the barbarians. The Franks had not conquered these northern regions until the eighth century. Christianity was slow in reaching there. The Northmen's invasions had been frightful. For more than half a century, Friesland was ruled by Northmen. The later centre of Lorraine was in Brabant, not in the North. Even at the commencement of the eleventh century, the mouths of the Rhine and Meuse were almost uninhabited, as is evident from the deeds of Dirk III. The history of Balderik and Adela affords anything but an edifying picture of affairs around Nimwegen and Cleves. Drenthe and the Veluwe were still wildernesses. The Utrecht-Holland wars of the eleventh century are eloquent of death and destruction.

With regard to intellectual development, Utrecht—from which point civilisation went forth in the North—could compete with the southern Liege. The famous school of Willibrord and Gregory received a hard blow in the time of the Northmen; the teachers were dispersed, Utrecht's churches fell. But even in exile, the bishops remained faithful to art and letters. Bishop Radboud, brought up in Cologne and at the court of Charles the Bald, imbibed a love of literature, and wrote poems, hymns, and historical records, all, of course, in Latin. His successor, Balderik, the restorer of the Utrecht church, was the instructor of Henry the Fowler's learned son, Bruno, the future archbishop of Cologne. In his time, Balderik was a noted literary man, a poet and orator of uncommon talent. The learned Benedictine,

St. Wolbodo, afterwards bishop of Liege, was also a pupil of Balderik. Bishop Ansfried of Utrecht came from Bruno's school in Cologne. A pupil of the Liege scholars was the fighting Bishop Adelbold, the friend of Archbishop Gerbert of Rheims (afterwards Pope Sylvester II.). We have a letter from him to the pope on the density of the air. He wrote also on music, and his poems are praised, as well as his commentary on Boethius. Bishop William, the antagonist of Pope Gregory, and Bishop Conrad, Henry V.'s teacher, were also learned men.

Liege was the nursery of learning in the South from the middle of the ninth to that of the eleventh century. Under Ebrachar (965), and still more under Notker (1000), Liege became famous as a centre of culture, and many later bishops received an education there. The Liege school was most flourishing in the eleventh century under the learned Wolbodo and the noble Wazo. Cambrai and Tournay were then seats of science.

Besides the bishops' sees, many convents were asylums of literature and civilisation in those centuries of blood and iron, of savage warfare and mutual pillage. Of Egmont, we possess the catalogue of a library that owed its origin to a donation from Archbishop Egbert of Treves, the son of the Kennemer Count Dirk II. Enriched with a number of works on history and classical literature, this conventual library chiefly served for the school, to which—as in other monasteries of the time—special attention was given. The reform movement of the eleventh century must have exerted a powerful influence upon intellectual development in the convents. With stricter monastic discipline, Cluny had also in view a nobler life in the cloisters, not merely a cold asceticism that would declare war on art and science. The old ducal house of Lorraine, closely allied with the papal party, promoted the reformation. So, in the struggle between emperor and pope, we notice much agitation in

Lorraine, the attitude of Henry IV. towards Gregory VII. and his successors finding many opponents. The pope was chiefly favoured in the southern part of Lorraine, while in the North the close connection of the Utrecht bishops with the Salian emperors gave the other party the upper hand. Liege, on the contrary, stood as a rule on the papal side, although it continued also to respect the imperial power.

In general, it may be said that the South was in advance of the northern country in intellectual matters, as well as in material prosperity and social evolution. But neither in South nor North was there, at this time, any popular literature in the vernacular tongue. Latin exclusively was the language of scientific and literary culture. Some legends must have lived among the people and passed from mouth to mouth in the language of the country, into which they were afterwards translated again from the French. Before the end of the twelfth century, however, we find no trace of a literature in the native language. With regard to art, a single mosaic, the most ancient Roman churches and towers, numerous ruins in the South, the counts' castle of Ghent particularly, the remains of Frederick Barbarossa's time at Nimwegen, poor drawings in manuscripts from Egmont and other convents, testify to the fact that art was not altogether neglected in the lives of Holland's forefathers. What remains is again of more importance in the South than in the North. An exception may perhaps be made for Utrecht, where Bishop Adelbold is mentioned as the founder of some splendid buildings, especially churches.





CHAPTER VIII

THE NETHERLANDERS IN THE CRUSADES

THE crusades were among the strangest phenomena of feudal times. Great as was the holy zeal that Pope Urban II. inspired in his hearers at the council of Clermont in 1095, deeply as he and his preachers might feel and put forward the religious side of the matter, it was not religion alone that moved men to undertake the expedition to the East. No less than by religious ardour, were the crusaders of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries impelled by the love of adventure, by the thirst for fame, and for the booty to be secured from the accursed Saracen. In the century before the so-called First Crusade, we hear repeatedly of small expeditions of noble Netherlanders. Dirk III. of Holland took the name of the Jerusalemite from such an expedition. Robert the Frisian had sought adventures in the Orient before he played his part in Flemish and Hollandish history. The first crusaders encountered in the Mediterranean a fleet manned by adventurers from Flanders, Holland, and Friesland, and these pirates, struck with remorse, flocked under the banner of the cross without altogether changing their old nature.

Peter of Amiens, the great preacher of the crusades, made his voice heard also in the Southern Netherlands, and the cry of "God wills it" kindled enthusiasm there and farther north. Knights and low-born hastened to

affix the symbol of the cross to their shoulders, foremost among them Godfrey of Bouillon himself, now duke of Lower Lorraine, with a train of Lorraine and French counts and noblemen. He sold his castle of Bouillon to Liege in order to raise the necessary money. He became the type of the true crusading knight and Christian warrior, he who would not wear a royal crown in the place where Christ had once worn a crown of thorns. He and his brothers, Eustace of Boulogne, and Baldwin, who founded a kingdom in Edessa, also Count Robert II. of Flanders, covered themselves with glory in the East, and made the Lorrainers and Flemings famous there. The arduous march through Asia Minor, the conquest of Nicæa, Tarsus, Antioch, and finally in July, 1099, of Jerusalem, increased their reputation. Godfrey himself, to whom legend gave a supernatural ancestry in the mythical Knight of the Swan, surpassed all at the taking of the Holy City. Then he was chosen ruler of the Holy Land as "Protector of the Holy Sepulchre." But he did not long bear this title. Most of the crusaders returned home, now that their object seemed attained, and those left behind were not strong enough to defend their conquest. A year later, the duke of Lorraine died amid the greatest confusion. His successor in the kingdom of Jerusalem, Baldwin of Edessa, extended his dominion, but it soon began to decline, being sustained only by the small bands of crusaders that, year after year, went to the Orient from the Netherlands as well as from other countries. The fall of Edessa in 1144 awakened new ardour in Europe.

Again preachers circulated through the southern districts. The celebrated Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, won over many to the crusade at Liege, Valenciennes, and elsewhere. Frisians helped capture Lisbon in 1147. The Flemish count, Dirk of Alsace, accompanied King Louis VII. of France, and the Lorrainers were with

Emperor Conrad III. This expedition brought little but defeat and disgrace. Then followed another period of forty years, in which princes and nobles undertook small eastern enterprises. Counts of Holland, Flanders, Guelders, Namur, Hainaut, bishops of Liege and Utrecht, dukes of Brabant and Limburg, went there together or separately. Even princesses followed their example.

The third great expedition (1189-1192), under Frederick Barbarossa, Philip Augustus, and Richard the Lion-Hearted, saw also a large number of Netherlandish princes in the Orient. Floris III. of Holland and Otto I. of Guelders, Henry I. of Brabant, Philip of Flanders, and others have honourable mention. The Flemings, Hollanders, and Frisians again wasted their best strength in Portugal, where many lost their lives. The others were ravaged by the pest in the Holy Land, Floris III. and Philip of Flanders being carried off by it.

More glorious for the Flemings was the Latin crusade (1203), in which the Holy Land was less the goal than Constantinople. There, in the ancient capital of the East, the Flemish Count Baldwin put the imperial crown upon his head. The city became the centre of a Flemish-French dominion that was, however, too divided and weak to last. Baldwin was no more fortunate than Godfrey of Bouillon. He died, fighting the Bulgarians, within a year. His feeble empire dragged out its life almost sixty years longer, sinking at last under the blows of Greeks and Bulgarians. But this expedition was glorious for the Flemings, as that against Damietta for the Frisians and Hollanders.

While we have only scattered accounts of the participation of the Netherlanders in the earlier crusades, we possess fuller notices of the expedition against Damietta. In 1214, Master Oliver, cathedral teacher of Cologne, undertook the preaching of a crusade in the diocese of Cologne. Never before had Friesland been visited by

real crusade-preachers. Thousands streamed to the church or meadow where the celebrated orator summoned the faithful. Wonderful omens were noted; universal zeal manifested itself. At Dokkum and elsewhere, crosses were seen in the sky while Oliver spoke. Thousands assumed the consecrated symbol. But various circumstances delayed the expedition. At length, in May, 1217, some Frisian crusaders sailed out of the Lauwers. At Dartmouth they united with a great fleet of more than two hundred ships under the command of Count William I. of Holland and the count of Wied. These became the acknowledged leaders of the enterprise. The fleet crossed the Channel, and sailed along the coast to Corunna, whence a pilgrimage was made to the neighbouring Santiago de Compostella, the resting-place of the bones of St. James. On the 25th of July, the voyagers reached Lisbon, the beautiful city that, seventy years before, had been snatched from the Saracens by the valour of the Netherlanders. A part of the crusaders—the two counts among them—allowed themselves again to be persuaded by the Portuguese into fighting against the Moors. Another portion, including almost all the Frisians, sailed on and conquered Santa Maria, Rota, and Cadiz, the latter city being given over to the flames under the eyes of its fugitive inhabitants. There were eighty-six ships of them going through the Strait of Gibraltar, and, keeping close to the coast, they arrived on the 9th of October at Civita Vecchia, the papal sea-port. As the harbour was too small to contain all the vessels, the fleet was dispersed in neighbouring ports. Here the winter was to be passed. A visit to Pope Honorius III. naturally could not be omitted. He received the Frisians cordially, showed them twice, as a mark of his special favour, the handkerchief of St. Veronica, and commended them to the care of his subjects. When spring came, preparations were made to go on. At Corneto, in behalf

of the multitude on the shore, the mayor of the city bade farewell to the "pious and heroic" Frisian nation, and the Frisians hoisted their sails and departed for the East on the 25th of March. After over eleven months, April 26, 1218, the voyage came to an end in the haven of Acre, in the Holy Land. Eighty ships were still left—according to some only fifty. At Acre, the great landing-place for the crusaders, those soon appeared who had remained behind in Lisbon. Towards the end of May, it was determined, upon the advice of the Christian princes of the Orient, to make a united attack on Egypt. On the 29th of the month, Damietta was reached, and the siege of this important city began, under the lead of the count of Saarbrück. Long and arduous was this siege, and the Frisians greatly distinguished themselves. Oliver of Cologne seems to have continued as their commander. Following his instructions—he was also an excellent engineer—they bound two ships together, and placed four tall masts on them, besides a siege-tower, strongly constructed with planks and cordage, and having a drawbridge and ladder in the upper story. These ships sailed up the river to the principal tower of the city. As the crusaders were making a furious attack, a young Frisian captured the sultan's colours. After a brave resistance, the castle of the Saracens fell into the besiegers' hands; a valiant knight from Liege was the first to penetrate into it (August 24, 1218). Soon after this affair, which seemed to settle the city's fate, many Frisians and other Germans left the Christian camp before the beginning of the bad season that might have impeded their return home; others remained. In December, some Frisians destroyed the bridge of boats over the Nile. The city still held out for a long time, and not until November 5, 1219, did it, depopulated by war and pestilence, surrender to the almost discouraged Christians. Soon the Frisians must have all gone home, and Count William of Holland also. Thus

the Damietta crusade was glorious enough for the Frisians and Hollanders. But all their exertion was in vain. Damietta was soon again possessed by the Egyptians (1221), and the pope once more called upon the faithful to help the Holy Land.

The indefatigable Oliver of Cologne was again commissioned to preach the crusade in Friesland. But success this time was not so great. In 1225, Oliver became bishop of Paderborn, later a cardinal, and gave up the work. The Frisians, indeed, supported the good cause in the Holy Land in 1227, but won little renown. In time, the ardour abated for making long voyages to the East. People commenced to mistrust even the crusade-preachers, when they had experience with impostors, who defrauded them on pretence of a crusade, and when a bishop of Utrecht and other spiritual lords squandered money destined for expeditions to the Orient. Men like the pious Emo of Wittewierum complained of crusade-preachers, who used their power "as a madman his sword." Ridicule became ever louder of those who risked their lives and devoured their substance to go "across the sea." There were growing complaints of immorality in the crusading armies, of the character of expeditions often undertaken by criminals in expiation of their misdeeds. Many Netherlanders, however, took part in the last great crusade, that of St. Louis to Tunis in 1269 and 1270. Counts Guy of Flanders and Henry of Luxemburg commanded large bodies of men in it. The Frisians did not reach Tunis until the noble king was dead; they served a short time under his brother, Charles of Sicily, and then went to the Holy Land, where they were hospitably received. Very speedily they returned home, as did the Flemings from Tunis. This was the last expedition of any importance. The popes tried repeatedly to arouse the old crusading spirit. The council of Lyons in 1274 prescribed a general collec-

tion of tithes from all ecclesiastical property for a new crusade; these tithes were paid in the Netherlands as elsewhere; we possess registers of them, but what became of the money is not so plain. The last emperor of the Latin empire soon had to give way to his Greek rival. The Christian Orient constantly grew smaller in extent, and was finally limited to a narrow strip of the coast, to a few coast fortresses in the Holy Land, of which Acre was the most notable. The fall of Acre sent a shudder through all Europe, but nothing was done about it. The Holy Land was lost (1291).

Crusades soon became a matter of fashion. As late as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a knight was of no consequence until he had earned his spurs in some raid—it was nothing else—against Moors or Lithuanians, had set fire to a few miserable villages in Prussia, or assailed a Moorish castle in Spain. Men went to the Holy Land down to the sixteenth century, but only as pious pilgrims, unarmed, voluntarily paying money to the Saracens—who derived great incomes from their protection of pilgrims against robbers and brigands—putting up with all sorts of privations and humiliations for the privilege of praying at the Holy Sepulchre or on Mount Sinai, where Moses had received the Law. Thus, in 1343, Count William IV. of Holland and Hainaut made an adventurous journey to the Holy Land, visiting it in the disguise of a sailor, and stealing secretly to the Holy Sepulchre. On his way home, he went in knightly fashion to Prussia and there fought—little to his credit indeed—against the infidel Wends and Lithuanians. Later in the century, Duke William of Guelders repeatedly went to Spain and Lithuania. We have a full account of the travels of a Utrecht priest, John de Hese, to the Holy Land in 1389, travels abounding in wonderful adventures, like those of Breidenbach, undertaken a hundred years later, and described in several languages. Many ordinary

citizens went on such expeditions in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, mostly from purely religious motives or the love of adventure, often also to atone for a crime. A condemnation to a pilgrimage to the Holy Land was not uncommon. In almost every important city, there was to be found the guild of the Jerusalem travellers, who had themselves portrayed with a "Jerusalem feather," or palm branch, a souvenir of the Orient, in many a painting that has come down to us. The burghers with their honest faces were the successors of the mailed knights. The latter had shown them the way. The crossed legs on the tombs of the knights were, until much later times, a striking reminder of the expeditions undertaken by them.

And what, to the Netherlands, were the results of the crusades? The answer to this question is usually quite comprehensive. Among the "results of the crusades," about everything is enumerated by which the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are distinguished. Without doubt, this is a terrible exaggeration. The more the conditions then existing are studied, the more firmly one becomes convinced that the social evolution of Central, Western, and Southern Europe in those centuries must chiefly be explained from the preceding history of those regions themselves. The rise of the cities, the alleviation of slavery, the development of chivalry, the coming up of the begging monks—all this has little or nothing to do with the crusades. We must consider the crusades as an attack by the Christian Occident upon the Saracen Orient, as an attempt by Christian colonisation in the East to drive back the religion of Mohammed, which was ever threatening Europe from there and from Spain and Italy. In the Spanish peninsula, the crusaders contributed much to the gradual expulsion of the Moors, but the attack on the East was a miserable failure. On the debit side, also, is to be found the loss of population

suffered by the West through the death of so many noble princes, so many hundreds of valiant knights, so many thousands of peasants and workmen, above all, that could then with such difficulty be spared. Looking at the loss, not approximately to be estimated, of men in the prime of life, makes one doubt the beneficent effect of the crusades. In the Netherlands also, this loss is not to be considered too lightly.

But, on the other hand, there is much good to be noted. The religious orders of knighthood, originating in the twelfth century for the care of sick and wounded pilgrims in the Holy Land, were long representative of charity, and made their influence felt in all countries of Europe. The Knights of St. John and the Teutonic Knights had many possessions in the Netherlands, and used them for the benefit of mankind, although the latter, especially, soon became more worldly. The commanderies of St. John and the Teutonic order long survived here, and did much good for centuries. The same cannot be said of the quickly degenerated Templars. Through the favour of the Flemish Counts Dirk and Philip of Alsace, and of the Brabant dukes of the twelfth century, they had rich possessions in those districts; and some traces are found in Holland and Zeeland of their presence. On the suppression of their order, in 1312, their property went in part to the order of St. John, in part to others. Moreover, the influence of acquaintance with the Orient was felt in all directions. The commerce of the world increased, and this first influenced the development of the Italian cities, and that of other commercial places in the West, including the Netherlands. The products of the East became better known in the West, and created new necessities there, which had to be satisfied by commerce. So the rise of the Dutch commercial cities is certainly connected with the crusades. Greek and Arabic science and the arts of the Orient provided new food for the scientific inclina-

tions, the art sense of the Occident, and gave the impulse to the revival of art and science that was one of the fairest fruits of the thirteenth century. Industry found its advantage in learning the manufacture of silk and other articles of luxury, in which the East so excelled. In short, all Western society underwent, often without our being able to show the exact process of development, the influence of the memorable movement, multiform in its causes as well as in its results, which acted powerfully also upon the forefathers of Holland.





CHAPTER IX

STRIFE AMONG THE FEUDAL POWERS

THE small states arising in ancient Lorraine were, naturally, for a variety of reasons, continually at war with one another. Disputes about boundaries and successions, personal feuds of princes and nobles, divergent interests, were the abounding sources of discords which, for centuries, harassed North-western Germany and the neighbouring sections of France. Military expeditions of Christendom against Christ's foes in the Holy Land now and then gave a brief breathing-spell in the endless war that filled all Western Europe. Occasionally, also, the clergy, sympathising with the miseries of the people, succeeded in bringing about peace between bitter enemies. The *Treuga Dei*, Truce of God, was often a blessing; before many a battle, ecclesiastics or members of the religious knightly orders came between the two parties with the palm-branch of conciliation,—but apparently very rarely to any purpose. Sometimes, the authority of powerful princes kept their lands at peace for a time. In general, however, war was the element of the knights of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The type of the time is the knight in armour, with the cross on his shoulder, the heavy lance or sword in his hand, mounted on his battle charger, likewise in armour from head to foot. The knight looks down upon the ecclesiastic, if the latter, forgetting his calling, does not buckle a coat of

mail over his religious habit and lead his monks into battle. The military orders, Hospitalers, Teutonic Knights, Templars, and others, are developed in these days, coupling the fear of God with bloody strife. Intellect is at a discount, and the noble lord of the castle listens with interest to the minstrel only, who recounts to him the stories of Arthur and the Round Table, of Charlemagne and his paladins, while the fire on the hearth fantastically illuminates him and his consort, his men-at-arms, and his children in the spacious hall, and kindles sparks of the wild lust for combat in his eyes. Maerlant, in his time, complains of "kings, counts, and dukes, who war upon and betray others for a little thing." In the beginning of the twelfth century also, during the whole period of the Crusades indeed, there was reason for the same complaint. Numberless were the wars fought in these parts; endless is the tale of cunning and pillage.

FLANDERS AGAINST HOLLAND AND HAINAUT

There was a remarkable conflict for centuries between Holland and Flanders concerning Zealand. The chief point of dispute was the possession of the islands of West Zealand, which were given in fief to Baldwin IV. of Flanders early in the eleventh century. The Flemish counts were here neighbours of the Holland counts, who, from the tenth century, had possessions on Schouwen. Floris III. of Holland held West Zealand as a fief from Philip of Flanders, and between them, probably on account of tolls, broke out a war which ended in 1168. The treaty then made, that of Hedensee, established a species of joint possession of the islands, stipulating, among other things, that the count of Holland should have them in fief from Flanders, the revenue should be equally divided, and Flemish merchants should be exempt from tolls. Count Dirk VII. won a victory over

Baldwin of Flanders in 1197, but later recognised the feudal lordship of Flanders. The war of succession following his death in 1203 between the young Countess Ada, and her husband, Count Louis of Loon, on one side, and her uncle, Count William, on the other, caused new dissensions. Under the successful William I., the treaty of Hedensee remained the basis of relations between Holland and Flanders. Dynastic differences renewed the dispute towards the middle of the century. To understand them better, we must look back a little at the history of Flanders.

The lineal male descendants of the old family of the Flemish counts became extinct in Flanders in 1119 with Baldwin VII. with the Axe, the severe grandson of Robert the Frisian. Count Charles the Good, son of Robert's daughter and King Knut IV. of Denmark, succeeded him. He ruled his barons with a strong hand and protected the common people. A conspiracy was hatched, and the noble count was treacherously murdered in the church of St. Donat at Bruges (1126). There was soon civil war in Flanders, and the succession became uncertain. Besides Count Baldwin of Hainaut, the lineal descendant in the male line of the counts of Flanders, and Count Dirk VI. of Holland, the heir of Robert the Frisian, there were various princes of the female line. English and French interests began here to oppose one another. The young Count William of the Norman family was quickly invested by the French king with the vacant countship. He had the greatest difficulty in holding his own against another grandson of Robert the Frisian, Dirk of Alsace, who won the support of a part of the Flemings and of the king of England. This civil strife ended only with the death of William of Normandy in 1128. Dirk of Alsace was successful.

Until the end of the century, the Alsatian house remained in possession of Flanders. More famous than

Count Dirk was his son Philip, who for a time was regent of France during the minority of King Philip Augustus, his godson, and who took an important part in the Anglo-French dissensions. Count Philip was one of the most powerful lords of his day, and married (1180) his niece, Isabella of Hainaut, to the young king, his ward. Having no children, Philip of Alsace recognised, after long contentions, Baldwin VIII. of Hainaut, his brother-in-law and the father of the French queen, as his successor in Flanders. Distinguished also as a crusader, Philip of Alsace died of the pestilence in 1191, before Acre, during the crusade of Philip Augustus and Richard Cœur de Lion. After his death, Flanders went to the Hainaut branch. Flanders and Hainaut were thus united again under one ruler, much against the will of the French king, who was alarmed at this great power. The support of the friendly emperors, Frederick Barbarossa and Henry VI., assured Baldwin a great influence in the Netherlands, where he was undoubtedly more powerful than any other prince. So the old Flemish family of counts again came into being stronger than ever in the Hainaut dynasty. The second prince of this line, Baldwin IX., is called "of Constantinople," in memory of the imperial crown he gained in the East. Flanders and Hainaut, however, had little good from the military fame of their count. His new crown in Constantinople made him almost forget his hereditary lands, where he had left his two young daughters, Johanna and Margaret, under the guardianship of his brother and vassal, Count Philip of Namur. The lustre of the imperial crown endured but a short time upon the head of the valiant Flemish count: he perished in an expedition against the Bulgarians. His daughters were handed over by their faithless guardian to Philip Augustus of France, who feared that Flanders would be lost to France through a marriage with an English prince. Johanna, the elder, had to marry the king's nephew, Ferdinand of Portugal,

who was at the same time a nephew of Philip of Alsace. The Flemings were averse to the French king's supremacy, and the growing cities, especially, urged the new governor to ally himself with England. Again English and French interests were opposed to each other in Flanders. These conflicting tendencies exerted an evil influence upon Flemish history for more than a century. War broke out with the French king, and Flanders was repeatedly devastated by fire and sword.

At length the day of vengeance appeared to have come also for the Flemings. John Lackland, king of England, had allied himself with Emperor Otto IV. of Germany, and with a number of Netherlandish counts and lords,—the dukes of Brabant and Limburg, the counts of Flanders and Hainaut, Namur, Holland, Luxemburg, Guelders, joining this league against the crafty French monarch. A great army of Germans and Flemings was to move from Hainaut into France. But Philip Augustus had not sat still. His vassals had flocked from far and near to defend the Gallic soil against the new German invasion. The ensuing battle of Bouvines, on the 27th of July, 1214, was one of the most remarkable of those centuries. Thousands of knights on both sides had gathered to measure themselves against one another with lance and sword. The German and the French element there tried their strength, as so often later in these regions. This time, the French king won the victory. Emperor Otto, after a hard struggle, took to flight, followed by a large number of the Netherlandish princes. Ferdinand, the governor of Flanders, fell into the enemy's hands and atoned for his rebellion against his sovereign by a long captivity in the Louvre at Paris. For over twelve years, the unfortunate prince pined in prison. Not until after the death of Philip Augustus, did Ferdinand, in 1226, return to Flanders, where his wife, meanwhile, had governed wisely under difficult circumstances, which

were made still more troublesome by an impostor pretending to be Baldwin of Constantinople, and finding many adherents. Soon he was unmasked, the Flemings deserted him, and he died on the gallows.

After Ferdinand's death, Johanna, who had thus far had no children, married Thomas of Savoy, another relative of the French royal house. This marriage was childless also, so that, on Johanna's death, in 1244, her sister, the proud Margaret of Constantinople, better known in Dutch history as "Black Meg," mounted the throne of Flanders and Hainaut. The new countess was an energetic woman, and equal to her hard task. Strange had been the experiences of her youth. Her first marriage was contracted with a member of the famous crusading Hainaut family of Avesnes. Burchard of Avesnes, originally destined for the church, studied in France at the University of Orleans. Returning young to Flanders, he exchanged the pen for the lance, was knighted in the East by Richard the Lion-Hearted himself, and was left behind in Flanders by Baldwin of Constantinople as adviser of his daughters. Then he was considered one of the most brilliant noblemen of Hainaut. After the emperor's death, he made use of his influence, in 1212, to marry the young Margaret, concealing from her and her family that he had formerly entered the priesthood. The secret leaked out, of course, and Pope Innocent III. excommunicated, in 1215, the "recreant priest," whose so-called marriage, by the canonical rules, was regarded as concubinage, and whose children were thus illegitimate. Burchard remained with his family at his castle in the woods of Hainaut and troubled himself little about the papal bulls, until he fell into the hands of Countess Johanna, who shut him up in Ghent. His faithful spouse soon released him, but the repeated excommunications and the remonstrances of her sister finally made Margaret change her mind. She with her children left him, and married,

in 1225, William of Dampierre, a French nobleman. The unlucky progenitor of the later counts of Hainaut died fifteen years afterwards in the retirement of the castle where he had spent his happiest days. Margaret had children also by Dampierre: three sons and three daughters. Between these and the two sons of Avesnes, who were legitimatised in 1243 by Emperor Frederick II., a contest arose soon after their mother became countess of Flanders and Hainaut. John of Avesnes, the older of the two, claimed the succession in Flanders, but saw his rights disputed by young William of Dampierre and his two brothers. The people of Hainaut generally favoured John; the Flemings were for the Dampierres. War was at first averted by a decision of Louis IX. of France and the papal legate as arbitrators, assigning, in 1246, the succession in Hainaut to the Avesneses, in Flanders to the Dampierres, much to the vexation of the countess, who removed the arms of Hainaut from her own and manifested everywhere her hostility to the Avesnes family. Evidently the French king had considered the interests of France in urging a division of the Flemish-Hainaut states.

These dynastic differences now embittered the old quarrel between Holland and Flanders over Zeeland. Count Floris IV. of Holland paid little attention to his feudal lord and joint possessor, and called himself count of Holland and Zeeland. A chance for Flanders to regain its influence was offered by his death in 1234, at the tournament of Corbie, where he was sacrificed to the count of Clermont's jealousy,—as sung by Bilderdijk. But William II., like Floris IV., called himself in 1246 count of Holland and Zeeland, while he refused to take oath as the vassal of Countess Margaret. He was supported by the Avesnes family, who began to look upon themselves as the masters of all Imperial Flanders, including West Zeeland. The alliance was strengthened by the marriage of John of Avesnes to William's sister Aleidis. A general con-

flict could not be avoided, and we hear of hostilities in 1247 resulting unfavourably to Flanders. The war lasted two years and hampered the Hollander, then just appearing as the Roman king, in his operations on the Rhine. The Flemish countess could rely upon the support of his enemy, Emperor Frederick II. The great events of the world's history then began to make their influence felt in the remote lands on the North Sea. Count William, elevated to the dignity of king by the church in opposition to Emperor Frederick, entered upon his task with spirit, although his power was not sufficient to secure the recognition of his new title. His difficulties gave Countess Margaret an opportunity to proclaim her pretensions to Zealand, and often caused him to withdraw from the contest. While William opposed his enemies on the Rhine, his brother Floris, as regent of Holland, made peace, in July, 1248, with the Flemish countess. Although the king of the Romans, by virtue of his office, could not do homage to Margaret, his vassal, for Imperial Flanders, he engaged that his successors in Holland should do so. Half a year later, the Avesneses, too, were reconciled with Margaret. But the peace was not of long duration. New dissensions between the Flemish princely houses and between the parties among the Zealand nobility soon agitated the islands in the Scheldt. Floris fell into the hands of the Flemish partisans, and was delivered up to the countess. A peace injurious to Holland's interests was concluded at Brussels and confirmed at Mons, in the autumn of 1250, by King William himself.

Just then, the star of the count of Holland began to rise in the empire. Emperor Frederick died, and his son, Conrad IV., went to Italy to secure his crown; King William obtained, by his marriage to Elizabeth of Brunswick, the support of the Guelph family, powerful in North Germany. We see the king soon renounce the peace of Brussels. July 11, 1252, he deposed the countess from

all her imperial fiefs and transferred them to John of Avesnes. This was the signal for open war between Holland and Flanders. Guy of Dampierre, the second son of the countess's second marriage, landed with a force, partly French, July 1, 1253, at West Kapelle on Walcheren, but was defeated by the less numerous Hollanders and Zealanders hidden behind the dunes, and was made prisoner with his younger brother and many French and Flemish knights. Count Dirk of Cleves and Floris of Holland were the victors in this famous battle, for centuries the pride of the Hollanders, who had never won such a brilliant victory over the Flemings.

The countess now sought help from the brother of St. Louis, Count Charles of Anjou, regent of France during his brother's absence on a crusade, and she offered him Hainaut. Anjou accepted, and was soon fighting in Hainaut with King William. At the truce of Quesnoy (1254), Anjou held almost all of Hainaut. Peace was not concluded until October, 1256, at Brussels, after the death of the Roman king in Friesland. That deplorable death suddenly gave another turn to the differences of Flanders and Holland-Hainaut. The Avesnes family again obtained the right to Hainaut, but Margaret kept her lordship over West Zeeland, granting it in fief, not to the young Floris V., but to William's brother Floris, the young count's governor. Charles of Anjou renounced his claims upon Hainaut. Then the hostile brothers managed to be quiet for a time. A great treaty in November, 1257, afterwards confirmed by the pope and the German king, restored peace, with recognition of the rights of the Avesneses to Hainaut, and of the Dampierres to Flanders. Countess Margaret ruled over her dominions in conjunction with the two families. She lived until 1280, proclaiming, shortly before her death, her grandson, John II. of Avesnes, as count of Hainaut, her son, Guy of Dampierre, as count of Flanders.

Under the Dampierres, Flanders, separated from Hainaut but united with Namur, was still an important power. Quarrels with Hainaut and with Holland and Zealand did not, however, cease. Floris V. of Holland, like his father before him, often supported his relatives of the house of Avesnes against the Dampierres. Flanders, joined to England by its trade in wool, to France by its feudal relation, became anew a shuttlecock between these two countries continually opposing one another. Floris V. of Holland succeeded in holding West Zealand and curbing its turbulent noblemen. His uncle, who had looked after his affairs so badly, was dead, and the nephew married Beatrix of Flanders, destined by the uncle for himself. From 1287, trouble began again with Flanders, and did not end before Floris's death. His relation to Flanders certainly helped to bring about the tragical event that closed his active life (1296). That catastrophe finds its explanation in his attitude towards England. Most closely was Floris allied with England. His son was betrothed to an English princess, and was educated in England. Guy of Flanders was also inclined to unite with King Edward I. of England, from dread of the ever-threatening French influence in his country. This was, of course, the signal for Avesnes to enter into an alliance with King Philip the Fair of France. In January, 1296, however, Floris V. began, perhaps under the influence of his Hainaut relative, or on account of his pretensions to the Scottish throne, to abandon the English party, and allied himself with France, although the English king had possession of his son. This aroused King Edward's anger, and his help was relied upon by the discontented noblemen of Holland and Zealand, vexed at the favour Floris showed the common citizens. In secret union, also, with the Flemish party in Zealand, of which Wolfert van Borselen and John van Renesse may be considered the chiefs, some

of the Hollandish nobles abducted the count, and killed him, June 27, 1296, when they could not carry out their plan of conveying him to England. We know the sad story from the excellent authority that has been preserved for these times, from the relation of Holland's oldest historian, Melis Stoke. How Gerard van Velzen and Gijsbrecht van Amstel deceived the count by feigning friendship and drinking a stirrup cup, enticed him outside of Utrecht, and took him to the castle of Muiden—Vondel's drama has put that before our eyes. No event of those barbarous centuries is better known to the Dutch people. The death of the beloved prince, so sincerely lamented by his people, of the best count of the old house of Holland, has become a favourite subject of popular story, legend has adorned it, art has surrounded it with ideal glory and borrowed from it many a striking bit. Floris's faithful hinds have not been the only creatures to mourn over the grave of the unfortunate "God of the People."

The count's death and the absence of his son and successor in England raised the confusion in Holland to the highest pitch. Some adhered to Count Dirk of Cleves; others summoned John II. of Avesnes, the next heir after Floris's son, to hold the country for his cousin; Wolfert van Borselen, suspected of complicity in the murder, seemed inclined to take possession of Zealand for Flanders; other noblemen went over to ask Edward's help for the young count. The Frisians, Bishop William of Utrecht, and the Flemings also seized the occasion to assail the countship from all sides. King Edward acceded to the request made of him. He married the young count to his daughter and sent him to Zeeland, where he was joyfully received. Holland also accepted him. His appearance brought disappointment. At first, he gave himself up entirely to Wolfert van Borselen, a partisan of the Flemish-English alliance, and when Wolfert had

rendered himself odious and been put to death at Delft by the populace, John of Hainaut became the governor of the weak youth and the avenger of Floris V.'s death. In Holland, as in Flanders, appeared again the contest between England and France for influence. The French party had the upper hand, and the Hainaut prince was just preparing to conclude an agreement with the French king, when the last scion of the Holland family of counts died of an intestinal malady (November 10, 1299).

Immediately, the count of Hainaut turned back from the journey already begun to France, and saw himself recognised everywhere in the countship, except in Zealand, as the heir. The Hainaut house of Avesnes thus came into possession of Holland and Zealand, and Count John II. handled them ably against enemies from within and without, as against King Albert of Germany, who had to retreat from Nimwegen upon the approach of John's army. Naturally, Guy of Flanders could not view this doubling of the hostile power of Hainaut without vexation, but for the moment his strength was paralysed by internal troubles in Flanders. The dependence on the French king, and the French spirit of the Flemish court had, for over a century, disturbed the minds of the people of Flanders, much more inclined to England by reason of their commercial interests. The French language had become the official one there before it had displaced Latin in the government offices of France. The Flemish cities called for closer connection with wool-producing England, and, thanks to their important privileges, they began to assert themselves, to consider themselves as independent bodies. In an evil hour, Guy entered into a contest with the ruling families of these cities, Bruges, Ypres, and Ghent, which appealed to the feudal lord, the French king.

The crafty Philip the Fair was just the man to take advantage of this condition of affairs. He had long

fomented the estrangement between the count and his subjects. Soon he succeeded in bringing Guy into difficulties; a strong French party, the "Leliaerts," now showed themselves everywhere. In an interview at Corbie, Philip treacherously made the count a prisoner, and compelled him to renew Countess Margaret's agreement with France. Guy was thenceforth entirely subject to France, but he secretly continued to negotiate with King Edward. Seduced by the promise of great commercial advantages, he entered into a formal alliance with England, whereupon the French king invaded Flanders, in 1297, and conquered the whole of it. A truce of two years was concluded, and it proved fatal to the French rule. At its expiration, the Flemish count was indeed beaten again, and, in 1300, he surrendered with his sons and chief barons. They were imprisoned in Paris and elsewhere. The government of the conquered countship was conducted by royal officials. But the end of the French dominion was speedily at hand. The arrogance of the French troops, the arbitrary sway of the governor, the extortions practised upon the inhabitants, the erection of citadels to hold them in check, the contempt with which the French noblemen during those two years treated the Flemish citizen and peasant, the evident purpose to attach Flanders directly to the French crown,—this all kindled in the hearts of the Flemings a fierce popular hatred of the foreigner, a hatred that had for centuries been implanted in the Teutonic breast. A visit of the French king and queen to conquered Flanders in May, 1301, gave the "Leliaerts" an occasion for great festivities, in which they astounded their guests by their luxury and the proud bearing of the beautiful Flemish dames. That visit invested the ruling families of the cities with new privileges, but caused among the common people and the guilds violent agitation that soon turned to open rebellion.

Peter de Conync, master of the cloth-weavers, and John Breydel, master of the butchers, at Bruges, personally insulted by the conquerors, became the chiefs of the Flemish popular party, the "Clauwaerts." The massacre of the French (May 19, 1302) at Bruges, the walls of which were surprised by the insurgents early in the morning, was the signal for a general rising of the Flemish people, supported by troops which William of Jülich and Guy of Namur had collected abroad. The French fled on all sides; the governor had a narrow escape from the "Bruges matins." But the French king was not to be trifled with. Count Robert of Artois neared the Flemish frontiers with a large army, and at Courtrai pushed into the unfortunate country, laying waste everything in his way with fire and sword to take vengeance for the Bruges massacre. The fighting population of the rebellious land flocked to the neighbourhood of Courtrai; armed countrymen joined the well-equipped guilds of the Flemish cities, and soon the black "Flemish Lion"—the arms of the countship dating from the crusades, according to the legend conquered by Philip of Alsace from a Moslem chief—saw under its banners countless hosts, led by Guy of Namur and William of Jülich, by De Conync and Breydel, by the knight, John Borluut of Ghent, John van Renesse of Zealand, and many other knights of Flanders and Zealand. On July 11, 1302, at the foot of the Pottelberg near Groeninghe, the memorable battle took place that temporarily freed Flanders from the French rule, and in the world's history has the unique name of the "Battle of the Spurs." With the cry of "Flanders the Lion," the men of Flanders stood firm; their bows and lances, their "good-mornings" and "morning-stars," their scythes and hoes, mowed down the proud knights. When the latter, after the first success of the French archers, fearing that they would have no part in the victory, rushed in disordered throngs upon the Flemish

ranks, their fate was quickly settled. Hundreds of French knights met their death, among them the general himself with his foremost noblemen. Seven hundred golden spurs, found on the battlefield, gave the battle its name. Princes and counts, barons and noblemen, then estimated at two thousand in number—the flower of the French nobility—lay on the field among their infantry that covered the ground in masses. The dead were estimated at twenty thousand.

The Flemings now pressed triumphantly into Artois and made rapid advances into France itself. Their victory over the French soon caused them to oppose in Holland the power of John of Avesnes, King Philip's ally. So the Flemings turned against Zeeland. Under command of Guy of Namur, guided by the exile from Zeeland, John van Renesse, a considerable Flemish fleet sailed for the islands of Zeeland, and on April 25, 1303, got possession of Veere. The son of the Hainaut prince, Count William of Oostervant, intrusted with the defence of Zeeland, while his father attempted to protect his Hainaut possessions from a threatening invasion of the Flemings, was defeated, and retreated to Zierikzee, where he was soon shut in. Middelburg also fell into the hands of the Flemings, and a truce of a year left them in possession of almost all Zeeland. This truce was used by the Flemings to turn all their force against France, and the French armies suffered many a defeat in Artois. The long war exhausted both the Flemings and the French king. A truce was concluded here also until May, 1304. During this time, the old Count Guy was to be released from his imprisonment at Compiègne in order to prepare a definitive peace.

In the spring of 1304, Guy of Namur violated the truce with Holland. He defeated, at Duiveland, the young Count William, to whom his father had left the government in Holland, besieged unsuccessfully Zierikzee, valiantly

defended by him and Witte van Haemstede, an illegitimate son of Floris V., and then directed his attack upon Holland itself, which was conquered in a short time, with the exception of the North and of Dordrecht, the faithful citadel of the Hainaut counts. Zierikzee, Haarlem, and Dordrecht were the only points where the Hainaut prince still retained any power in these parts; the whole country, as far as Haarlem, now obeyed the Fleming, and did homage to Guy of Namur as count. Even Utrecht, whose bishop from 1301 was Guy of Hainaut, the second son of Count John, saw itself subjected by the Flemings, after the bishop had been made a prisoner in the battle at Duiveland. The duke of Brabant took advantage of the favourable opportunity, and seized upon the country of South Holland, with Geertruidenberg. Kennemerland, with Haarlem, was on the point of yielding. It seemed all over with Holland. Then suddenly Witte van Haemstede appeared from Zierikzee upon the Haarlem dunes and planted there the banner with the red Lion of Holland. Soon the old love for the family of counts revived at Haarlem. There and in other cities, the people rose against the Flemings, and within a week all Holland was freed from the enemy (May, 1304). Zealand alone remained mostly in Flemish hands, although Count William succeeded in escaping from Zierikzee and betook himself to Holland, where he was received with joy.

Meanwhile, the truce between Flanders and France was also ended without the conclusion of peace. The old Count Guy, already an octogenarian, went back to captivity, and King Philip again attacked Flanders, supported by a strong fleet under the Genoese Grimaldi, who was to operate in Zealand. August 10 and 11, 1304, Grimaldi and Count William, near Zierikzee, on the Gouwe, defeated the Flemish fleet of Guy of Namur; that brave commander—Melis Stoke, an inveterate enemy of the Flemings, says of him, "Bolder Fleming was never

born"—fell into the enemies' hands, and was taken to Calais. This battle rescued Holland. Though Holland and Zealand were thus delivered from the Flemings, in Flanders the struggle against France still continued. At Mons en Puelle, not far from Lille, an indecisive battle was fought, but the French king besieged Lille. At the end of September, 1304, a preliminary treaty was made, and, in June of the following year, peace finally came. The independence of Flanders was recognised, but otherwise the treaty was not advantageous to Flanders, as it imposed a heavy indemnity and the dismantling of the chief Flemish cities. The old Count Guy died before the conclusion of the treaty.

His enemy of the Avesnes family, Count John II. of Hainaut and Holland, also died in 1304, being succeeded by his excellent son, William III., hardly nineteen years old. Between this young prince and Robert de Béthune, the eldest son and successor of Count Guy, the ancestral feud was continued, but with less vigour than in earlier years. In 1310, William III. finally did homage to Flanders for West Zealand, and renounced Imperial Flanders, also claimed by him. For thirteen years after this agreement, there were difficulties with Flanders. At the end of Philip the Fair's reign (1314), new dissensions arose between the king and his Flemish vassal. Philip's successor and eldest son, Louis X., appeared with an army near Courtrai, but heavy rains forced him to retire. His brother and successor, Philip the Tall, made peace with Flanders in 1320, Lille, Douay, and Orchies going to France, and all differences being ended.

William III. repeatedly attempted to take advantage of these discords in order to throw off the Flemish lordship over Zealand. But the close connection with France, entered upon in 1322 by Count Robert's grandson and successor, Louis of Nevers, brought about still more intimate relations between the house of Dampierre and

the French kings. From this time, the Flemish counts were little more than governors for the French king, whose help they more and more appealed to against the claims of the citizens in their own cities. The marriage of Count Louis to Philip the Tall's sister chained him to the French dynasty. William III., also, by his marriage to Jeanne de Valois, had formed a family connection with the French royal house. Charles the Fair, the last of the Capets and the youngest son of Philip the Fair, was therefore the proper person to act as arbitrator between the houses of Avesnes and Dampierre. He performed this duty by effecting the treaty of March 6, 1323. By this treaty, concluded at Paris, Flanders granted the full ownership of West Zealand to Count William, and the latter as solemnly renounced all his claims to the rest of Imperial Flanders. Thus was ended the strife of at least a hundred and fifty years between Flanders and Holland concerning Zealand, a strife that was closely connected with the inner history of both countries as well as with that of various other states among the "low lands on the sea," of Namur, Hainaut, Brabant, Utrecht, Guelders, Liege, Luxemburg, and Friesland. Thus ended also the quarrel of a century between the Flemish princely families of Dampierre and Avesnes.

HOLLAND AGAINST FRIESLAND

The feud between Holland and the Frisians lasted even longer. It was more than a feud; it was a war between two peoples: the people of the countship under Frankish influence thoroughly alienated from the rest of Friesland, and the sections of the Frisian nation still free. The monks of Egmont, living on the border of Kennemerland, knew better than anybody else that it was a struggle of race against race, that "the one people was incessantly trying to rob the other of life and property." During

centuries, from the tenth to the fourteenth, the border regions of Kennemerland, West Friesland, and Waterland, afterwards the Frisian and Hollandish coasts, were the scene of numberless bloody expeditions undertaken from both sides. The Kennemer ballads of *Hofdijk* have mostly this historical basis; they are taken sometimes from old legends circulating years ago, and picture the sanguinary dramas acted among the idyllic dunes. The noblemen of Holland, led by their count, plundered and burned, many a time, the Frisian islands which then lay where the northern part of North Holland now extends. On the other hand, the Frisian peasants and fishermen, who seldom waged war for more than a day outside of their own boundaries, repeatedly laid under contribution the country from Alkmaar to Haarlem and the villages on the Zaan, and even ravaged those places. While the Frisians often made use of domestic dissensions in Holland, and, in 1132, supported Floris the Black against his brother, Count Dirk VI., later William I. against his brother, Count Dirk VII., while they saw their chance in the confusion following Floris V.'s death to cast off the Hollandish yoke, Holland's powerful allies were the ice, which made a bridge to the islands, and the great floods of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, that at last separated Friesland into two parts. The West Frisians became faithful subjects of the count; the inhabitants of Eastern Friesland remained longer refractory, and were only temporarily subdued under Count William III.; farther away, neither Holland's counts nor Utrecht's bishops had much influence.

HOLLAND AGAINST BRABANT

With Brabant, Holland long disputed about the homage which, in the opinion of the dukes, was due from the counts on account of South Holland. This district was

the marsh that, in the eleventh century, was taken possession of by Dirk III., and granted to his descendants. With the Hollandish counts of the twelfth century, the dukes of Brabant quarrelled over the homage which they demanded for this part of Holland. Dirk VII. was made prisoner by the duke, did homage for the eastern portion, and received the western portion as his independent domain. The marriages of William I. and Floris IV. to Brabant princesses improved matters. Floris V. was absolved by Duke John I. from all homage in 1283. An attempt to force the Hainaut dynasty to do homage again failed. Duke John II. was obliged to make peace with Count William III. and let him have South Holland.

HOLLAND AND GUELTERS AGAINST UTRECHT

While Holland expanded considerably north and south in the fourteenth century, upon the side of Utrecht, too, it was able to make its influence more and more felt. In the eleventh century, the bishopric had sought, if not to destroy the countship, at least to reduce it to a dependency, but Holland had gloriously emerged from the hazardous contest as an independent state. The bishopric was soon surpassed by the so much younger countship, and saw itself compelled submissively to obey the counts of Holland. This resulted from various causes. First, the bishop, as a temporal lord, was not nearly so powerful as the count. He had to reckon with his higher clergy, who had been influential in electing him, and who, since the peace between emperor and pope in 1122, accomplished this election without interference from the imperial authority, the lower clergy, or the people. The bishop must reckon with his cities, among which his capital stood first, but the smaller ones also were playing an ever more important part. Further, he had to pay attention to the will of his chief noblemen, to whom he

must allow more liberty than the count of Holland did to his. The counts, moreover, had the advantage of belonging to a strong dynasty, one member of it following another regularly; the bishops knew that, after their death, their power would go into hands strange and unknown to them. The bishop's lands, finally, were much more scattered than those of the count, the extensive territory of the former being divided into districts that had little in common with one another. Considering also that the bishop, as a prince of the church, had much less land at his personal disposal, and usually, as a warrior, was not the equal of his neighbours, it is not to be wondered at that, in the long run, the bishopric had to yield the palm to Holland. Both Guelders and Holland endeavoured to use their opportunities for securing the election of bishops favourable to them. Guelders, Cleves, and Brabant acquiesced in the fact of Holland's supremacy over Utrecht, which they had of course been sorry to see developed. Under the Hainaut house, too, the bishopric remained dependent upon the neighbouring countship.

GUELTERS AGAINST BRABANT, LIMBURG, AND OTHER NEIGHBOURS

In the thirteenth century, Holland was indisputably the most important country of the North. Guelders alone could measure itself with that countship, was powerfully developed on all sides, and held its own against its neighbours. As a rule, the three countships of Cleves, Mark, and Berg were on a good footing with Guelders. Its relations also with Münster, Cologne, and Jülich left, in general, little to be desired. In the great struggle between Hohenstaufen and Guelph, which caused confusion in these regions, as elsewhere, early in the thirteenth century, the counts of Guelders and the archbishops of Cologne almost constantly sided with the former, while the Brabant dukes

were strong pillars of the Guelphs. To their close connection with the Hohenstaufen family, the counts of Guelders were certainly indebted for much of their consideration. Count Henry I. (1138-1182) was too friendly with the last German emperors to meddle actively in the affairs of the Netherlands, with the Hohenstaufen Conrad III. and Frederick Barbarossa. His successors, Otto I. (1182-1207) and Gerhard III. (1207-1229), were faithful allies of the Hohenstaufen Philip of Swabia and Frederick II. against the Guelph Otto IV. Also Otto II. (1229-1271) was at first allied with Frederick II.; the influence of Archbishop Conrad of Cologne seems, in 1247, to have brought him over to the side of the spiritual princes. The elevation of his brother Henry to the bishopric of Liege may have helped, as well as the fact that the crown appeared not to be beyond his reach, and finally went to his nephew of Holland. Count Otto sustained young King William in his efforts to establish himself on the Rhine.

But the counts of Guelders did not derive their distinction from these relations alone; they owed it as well to their policy of peace, to their clever way of extending their authority in the countship. Many possessions of clergy and nobility went into the count's property, and soon there were few allodiums left in Guelders. Both Henry I. and his successors often took the part of mediators between the warring princes on the Rhine and the Meuse.

There was only one country besides Utrecht, with which Guelders in the thirteenth century was repeatedly at war. That country was Brabant. We hear of a war, in 1195, between Guelders and Limburg on one side, and Brabant, Flanders, Hainaut, and Namur on the other, and of peace in the following year. A new conflict, in 1200, ended with the defeat of Guelders. Two years later, Otto I. was treacherously made a prisoner by the duke and again forced to promise allegiance to the duke's party.

The marriage of the count's eldest son to the duke's daughter in 1206 put an end to the contest. The friendship was further strengthened by the marriage of a daughter of King Philip of Hohenstaufen to a son of the duke of Brabant. During the minority of Count Otto II., his grandfather, the old duke of Brabant, designated the governors of Guelders; Otto II. was always allied with Brabant in the days of William of Holland's kingship, the latter owing his crown chiefly to the count and duke among the temporal princes; Count Otto became, in 1261, governor of Brabant for the young John I., just as he was a few years later in Holland for Floris V. The marriage of Otto's son and successor, Reinald I., to Irmingardis of Limburg was the cause of a great war between Brabant and Guelders, celebrated in history as well as in literature,—the Limburg war of succession.

The two houses, which had disputed the ducal dignity over Lower Lorraine, were reconciled from the middle of the twelfth century. The archbishops of Cologne also bore the ducal title in the eastern section of the Lorraine duchy. Brabant was the most important of the duchies of Lorraine. Its rulers, whose usual residence was Louvain, called themselves dukes of Brabant and Lorraine from the time of Henry I., but only occasionally succeeded in exercising an influence on imperial affairs which suggested the importance of former dukes of Lorraine. Duke Henry I. (1183-1235), surnamed the Warrior, was married to the daughter of Philip Augustus of France, had great consideration during his long reign, and took an active part in the struggle between Guelph and Hohenstaufen. In the Netherlands, he was the chief opponent of Henry VI., the son and successor of Frederick Barbarossa. Hardly had the Emperor Henry VI. closed his eyes (1197), when a contest for the throne broke out between the Guelph Otto, son of Henry the Lion, and Philip, the brother of

the dead emperor, and at first regent for his son, the minor Frederick II. The leader of the Guelph party was the rapacious Archbishop Adolph of Cologne, who had won over his entire diocese to the Guelph. Henry of Brabant, bound by treaty to Cologne, like most of the neighbouring princes, was the chief support of Otto and Adolph in the West, and twice forced the Hohenstaufen to give up the attempt to conquer the Guelph party by force of arms. At his coronation in Aix-la-Chapelle, Otto IV. allied himself with the ducal family by becoming betrothed to Henry's very young daughter, Maria.

The pope's influence in favour of Otto held the Cologne party on his side only a short time. Adolph and Henry quickly wavered, and, in 1204, did homage to the Hohenstaufen King Philip, who promised more and was chiefly opposed by Duke Henry of Limburg and the latter's brother Walram, aided by a strong faction in Cologne. This faction drove out the faithless and deposed archbishop, received Otto IV. in the city, and obliged Philip to besiege Cologne. The Brabant duke did not give the Hohenstaufen prince efficient help at this siege, which soon had to be broken off. The battle in the swamps of Wasenberg, from which the wounded Otto made a narrow escape to Cologne, put an end to the war (July, 1206). Through the mediation of Henry of Brabant, Cologne submitted, and had to recognise its archbishop again. The old duke then married his son Henry to King Philip's daughter. The Hohenstaufens had won. The princes of the Netherlands now went over to the victor without troubling themselves much about their previous Guelph leanings.

But Philip's rule did not long endure. Assassination put an end to it in 1208. The Hohenstaufen heir, Frederick II., was too young to enter upon his inheritance and remained some years more in Italy. For a moment, Duke Henry I. of Brabant had a chance to mount the German throne, being urged to it by his father-in-law,

Philip Augustus; but negotiations finally led to a general recognition of Otto IV. in these districts, which continued more or less faithful to him until the unfortunate battle of Bouvines annihilated his power (July, 1214). Before this battle, when Otto IV. was to move across Brabant against the French king, the marriage took place between him and the Brabant princess, betrothed to him years before. Brabant, Limburg, and Flanders were his strongest allies at Bouvines and shared his defeat. By a campaign across the Meuse, young Frederick II. compelled Brabant and Limburg to acknowledge his authority, which example was everywhere followed on the Lower Rhine. The old Guelph party could not later be restored. Henry of Brabant married his daughter, after Emperor Otto's death (1218), to Count William I. of Holland.

His son and successor, Henry II. the Magnanimous (1235-1247), was, like his father, offered the royal crown of Germany, but he refused it, and with Otto of Guelders and Otto of Utrecht directed attention to his and their nephew, William of Holland, giving him powerful support. Duke Henry wore the ducal crown with a splendour recalling that of the ancient dukes of Lorraine.

Henry III. (1247-1261) received from Alfonso of Castile, one of the foreign claimants to the royal crown, the viceroyship over all the country from the Moselle and Rhine to the sea. The old duchy of Lower Lorraine seemed to rise again in this form. But he, too, died soon, and left his widow Aleidis with three young sons. The duchess maintained herself with difficulty in the guardianship against the princes and lords who wished to deprive her of it. The eldest of her children, Henry, appeared weak in mind and body and unfitted to reign, on which account he was replaced, in 1267, by his knightly and fiery younger brother, John I. (1267-1294) the Victor.

The new duke was one of the most brilliant princes of his time, excelling in tournament and prize contest, a graceful poet, a dashing warrior. Married first to a daughter of King Louis IX. of France, afterwards to a sister of the powerful count of Flanders and brother-in-law of King Philip III. of France, he was among the important potentates of those days. War was his element. Crusader in the war against the Spanish Moors, chastiser of the robber barons in his lands, he shone amid the princes in the battles and tournaments of France, England, and the German empire. Still higher rose the glory of his name when he conquered the duchy of Limburg in a battle that awakened the enthusiasm of contemporary poets and writers.

Much less important than the dukes of Brabant were those of Limburg, also called dukes of the Ardennes. The Henries and Walrams, who ruled here, one after another, from the end of the eleventh century, were crusaders as well as their neighbours, and fought with the latter for all sorts of reasons, but the power of their dynasty was not so great, the situation of their territory was not such that they could play a leading part in German affairs. Limburg, however, remained a desirable possession, upon which, in expectation of the ducal family becoming extinct, several neighbours had long cast their eyes, Brabant in particular. The last prince of the Limburg house, Walram III., died in 1280, and his daughter, Irmingardis, married to Count Reinald I. of Guelders, obtained in consequence the ducal dignity, of which her husband also took the title. In these rights they were confirmed by the Roman King Rudolph, who decided that, after the duchess's death, Count Reinald should enjoy the usufruct of Limburg. Irmingardis died childless, and her husband accordingly prepared to undertake alone the government of Limburg. This was opposed by Count Adolph of Berg. In Berg,

the old house of Altena had died out in 1225, and the countship had fallen to Henry, lord of Montjoye, son of Duke Walram II. of Limburg, and married to the heiress of Berg. He had also succeeded his father in Limburg. The sons of this Henry V. of Limburg, Berg, and Montjoye were Walram III. of Limburg, and Adolph who took the title of Berg. After his niece's death, the latter also laid claim to the duchy which his father had once possessed.

Not powerful enough to enforce his right to Limburg, Adolph of Berg applied to John of Brabant, who had long been at variance with Reinald of Guelders. On condition of a marriage between John's son, Godfrey, and a princess of Berg, Adolph, in September, 1283, sold his rights to the young duke of Brabant. This gave rise to a bloody war between Brabant and Guelders, in which many lords between the Meuse and the Rhine also took part from fear of the threatening predominance of Brabant. Later, Duke John obtained auxiliary troops from France and Burgundy, as well as from Holland and Flanders. The armies met at Gulpen in 1283, yet there seemed some chance of an amicable settlement. This failed, and hostilities were resumed, but the intervention of the king of England, then seeking allies in the Netherlands against France, finally secured the mediation of the count of Flanders and Count John of Hainaut, who decided that Reinald of Guelders, in accordance with King Rudolph's decree, should have the duchy during his life (1284). But this arrangement did not suit Duke John. Again he invaded Guelders, and pillaged a large part of the Betuwe, punishing also the archbishop of Cologne for his defection from the old alliance. Thus the war lasted for five years, exposing to its ravages the whole Meuse region from the Ardennes to the borders of Holland and Utrecht. The Rhine country likewise suffered great injury from the repeated inroads of the

indefatigable duke of Brabant. "It seemed a Trojan war."¹

Efforts were not wanting to bring about peace, a "parliament" of the princes being held for this purpose at Valkenburg. Despairing of the possibility of defending Limburg against the powerful Brabant, the count of Guelders came to this assemblage, to sell his rights to the duchy to the countly house of Luxemburg. Hearing of this agreement, Duke John attempted to surprise his enemies at Valkenburg. He was not successful, but with 1500 men he penetrated to Bonn, ravaging the country everywhere, and at last appeared before the capital of the archbishopric, the population of which was friendly to him. Urged by the counts of Berg and Mark, he moved with them thence to the neighbouring robbers' castle of Woeringen, long a scourge to the surrounding country. But scarcely did he appear before this castle, when the archbishop of Cologne in all haste summoned his allies in order "to throw the net" over the strange "whale, which had come sailing so far into his land, that he must remain upon this sand." The archbishop of Cologne, the counts of Luxemburg and Guelders, the lords of Valkenburg and Heinsberg, brought their forces together to crush the duke with their doubly superior power. But the affair ended quite otherwise. In the bloody battle of Woeringen (June 5, 1288), John of Brabant defeated his enemies: the arms "of sable with the lion of gold," which had been those of Brabant for a century, won the victory. On that day, Brabant gained the duchy of Limburg in honourable combat. Negotiations led up to an arbitration by King Philip IV. of France (October 15, 1289), by whose decision Reinald of Guelders had to renounce his claims to Limburg and Wassenberg. From that time, Limburg remained united with Brabant.

¹ John of Heelu, 3902.

LIEGE, LOON, AND LUXEMBURG.

The bishopric on the Meuse was, like that of Utrecht, continually endangered by its neighbours. Brabant, Hainaut, and Limburg intermeddled in the affairs of Liege, endeavoured to seize upon the possessions of the see adjoining their own, supported in general the citizens of Liege against their bishop, and took much trouble to place members of their families upon the episcopal throne. The Liege bishops, with the exception of Henry of Guelders (1247-1274), were of little importance. They had the greatest difficulty in keeping their neighbours out of their territory; the accession of almost all of them was attended, as in Utrecht, by violent disputes between the neighbouring princes. In the wars between the Guelph and Hohenstaufen parties, Liege, too, had often to suffer. The bishopric was particularly unfortunate under Henry of Guelders. This Liege prelate was a very worldly prince, more warrior than ecclesiastic, a faithful ally of William, the king of the Romans, and, as such, he participated in the struggle for Hainaut against Charles of Anjou. This caused civil war in the bishopric itself. A large part of the common people, led by Henry of Dinant, rose against the clergy and nobility, while the smaller towns supported the insurgents. This civil conflict lasted four years, and ended with the victory of Henry of Guelders who possessed for some years great influence in the countries around. But he was soon at odds again with his people, and John I. of Brabant plundered his territory. His dissolute conduct and the little heed he gave to the property of the bishopric at last caused Pope Gregory X. to depose him (1274). He continued to give his successors trouble, and frequently invaded the bishopric, until, in 1285, he perished during a raid. The bishop of Liege at that time was John of Flanders, son of Guy of Dampierre, whose family was then influential here.

The counts of Looz, or Loon, are to be regarded as vassals of Liege, as well as the counts of Namur. Their domain being shut in between lands of powerful counts and dukes, they could not rise to any considerable importance. They had constantly to fight with Flanders, Hainaut, Brabant, and Limburg.

Of more consequence was Luxemburg, whose counts, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, had a great name between the Meuse and the Rhine. The most celebrated was Henry the Blind, count of Luxemburg and Namur (1139-1196), a restless warrior, who was compelled to give up the latter territory to his nephew, Baldwin of Hainaut. Luxemburg went temporarily to the counts of the family of Bar from Upper Lorraine after Henry's death, but finally, by marrying his daughter Ermesinde, Duke Walram II. of Limburg secured it and transmitted it to their son, Henry II., the founder of the new Luxemburg-Limburg line (1246). Of him and his successors, many a war is to be recorded, the most important of which was certainly that of Henry III. with John I. of Brabant. The battle of Woeringen prevented a lasting union of Luxemburg and Limburg. Count Henry IV. succeeded Henry III., married a daughter of the Brabant duke (1292), and thus became reconciled with his father's enemy. He was in time to wear the German crown and to raise his family to unprecedented splendour.





CHAPTER X

THE LORD OF THE LAND

THE relation of all these wars resembles, in its monotony, Multatuli's story of the buffaloes taken from the natives of Java. Ever and ever again, raids, battles, sea-fights, crusades, tournaments, marriages, transfers by inheritance from one family to another, are recounted in the political history of the Netherlands in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and indeed for more than two centuries later. It is evident that not one of the Netherlandish provinces escaped this strife, that only now and then did one surpass another by a longer or shorter period of peace. Must not some account of these wars be included in the history of the Dutch people? Who will assert that they went on outside of the people—the people who, far more than the princes and noblemen, had to pay for all by the destruction of house and farm, the loss of property and life, the annihilation of prosperity and happiness? The life of the people at this time was full of unrest and war; besides the war cries of the knights and squires, there might also be heard the groans of the suffering country people, of the city merchants hampered in their business, plundered, and maltreated.

The condition of the country in those centuries is, just as from the ninth to the twelfth, that of a war of all against all, with this difference only that more order is beginning to come out of the chaos. This increased

order springs not from the greater power of the German kings and emperors, as in the days of the Carlovingian sway; on the contrary, it must be explained by the growing weakness of the royal authority, accompanied, as it was, by the development of the small lords of the land, who had acquired a certain amount of territory at the expense of their neighbours, and finally saw their interest in maintaining peace. The peace of the land was thenceforth to be kept less by the German emperors and kings than by mutual agreement of the princes apart from the sovereign of the empire. This sovereign gradually began to assume the same place in relation to the princes as the duke of Brabant and Lorraine in relation to the counts formerly dependent upon the Lorraine dukes. He was more or less respected for his title, but people kept him out of their affairs as much as possible.

Emperor Frederick Barbarossa had repeatedly intervened in the dissensions of the north-western part of the empire. He often sojourned at Nimwegen, Utrecht, and in the Meuse district. His son and successor, Henry VI., was born in the old castle of Nimwegen. A number of the Netherlandish princes had betaken themselves to Barbarossa's court and were his companions in arms. At the death of Henry VI., the state of things had changed. The Hohenstaufen Philip of Swabia and the Guelph Otto IV. each in turn sought, with the help of Brabant, to obtain the support of the Netherlandish lords against his rival, and these lords gave their assistance only when their authority as rulers was confirmed. This appears more plainly under Emperor Frederick II. He showed himself only a few times in Germany, living chiefly in his beloved Italy, and, indeed, only once did he penetrate into the Netherlands in an expedition against Brabant, never afterwards advancing beyond Aix-la-Chapelle or Cologne. On first quitting Germany, in 1220, he left, as his representative, his nine-year-old son, Henry, soon

made king of the Romans. The guardianship over him and the government of Germany were entrusted by the emperor to Archbishop Engelbert of Cologne, who wore armour with as good a grace as the episcopal pallium. This excellent prince of the church maintained order and asserted himself in all the country around as well as in his own bishopric. He strengthened the power of the imperial princes, in so far as he rejected the claims of the cities and of the nobles in opposition to the princes. After the murder, in 1225, of this "governor" of the empire, so poetically mourned by Walther von der Vogelweide, young Henry, crowned king of the Romans in 1222 at Aix-la-Chapelle, and often called Henry VII., fell into bad hands.

Gambling and drinking, going from chivalrous devotion to woman to shameful dissoluteness, the young king became more and more estranged from his father and desirous of founding a separate German empire, while his father should have to content himself with Italy. To carry out this plan, which was favoured by the popes opposing Frederick II., he had to win the help of the imperial princes, and it is not surprising, therefore, to see the power of the lords coming up everywhere in his days. We note this tendency in princes like Henry I. of Brabant, to whom King Henry—or rather Engelbert of Cologne—at the coronation of Aix-la-Chapelle granted extensive rights over his vassals. It appears most plainly in the decrees of the assembly of Worms (May, 1231), by which the dominant rights of the princes were officially confirmed and those of the king were limited in the principalities. The king could no longer build cities or castles there on his own authority or coin any new money. The development of the cities, regarded as dangerous to the power of the lords and encouraged by the kings since Henry IV., was checked by strict prohibitions. The only thing opposing was the rule that the prince could introduce no new laws

without the consent of the chief noblemen of the land. These decrees of Worms are remarkable. They are the first official recognition of the ruling power of the princes and, at the same time, of the rights of the subjects, although influence is only conceded to the great personages. It is the sanction of new conditions, which give to the immediately following centuries their peculiar character of new social forms growing out of the feudal state of the crusades. The thirteenth century is thus notable in the history of the German empire.

The state of the empire in the thirteenth century helped develop the power of the lords. Young Henry VII. had to submit to his father in 1235, was replaced, as Roman king, by his younger brother, Conrad IV., and died in prison; but Frederick II. and Conrad continued his policy towards the princes; and the anti-kings, Henry Raspe of Thuringia and William of Holland, saw no other means of maintaining themselves. William of Holland seemed destined to bring honour upon royalty again in the Netherlands, but even there he did not have power enough to do much. With the help of his relatives of Brabant, Utrecht, and Guelders, aided also at first by the archbishop of Cologne, Conrad of Hochstaden, and his colleague, Siegfried of Mainz, and strongly supported by the Frisians, he made himself master of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1248, after a long siege. But the help had to be paid for, and the free imperial city of Nimwegen was not the only sacrifice necessary to recompense this assistance. The burdens of the war against Flanders, the troubles in Utrecht, the death of Siegfried of Mainz, and the defection of Archbishop Conrad hampered the king, so dependent upon foreign help, in the extension of his authority. His repeated attempts to push along the Rhine deeper into the empire and to secure recognition for his title outside of the Netherlands and the surrounding country had, in consequence of all these difficulties,

little chance of success. But neither could his opponent, the Hohenstaufen Conrad IV., strengthen his power. For years, the king was little respected, and all Germany was in a state of confusion without peace. What authority would now undertake to preserve peace, since the king appeared powerless to do so? The imperial cities, in particular, felt the evils of this civil warfare, so injurious to their commerce.

To bring about some improvement, in about 1250, the cities of different parts of Germany concluded treaties for mutual assistance. In the North, the Hanseatic league spread from city to city; on the Rhine, a great confederacy of cities was effected in July, 1254, Mainz and Cologne being chief among them. It was an event of great importance that King William not only showed himself in favour of this Rhine confederacy, but even entered into close relations with it. This alliance opened for him the way to Southern Germany. And there was more to encourage him. His enemy, Conrad IV., died speedily, and, with this blow, the strength of the Hohenstaufens was broken. Conrad's minor son, the later so unfortunate Conradin, was no head for a troubled realm. William's marriage to the Guelphic Elizabeth of Brunswick had brought Northern Germany into his hands. A brilliant future was opening before the young prince. All thoughts of setting up a new king against him were put aside by Pope Alexander IV. Preparations were made in the Eternal City for his solemn coronation as emperor. All these plans, which, had they been realised, would probably have given the Netherlands an important part in the empire, were made naught by the king's death, January 28, 1256, in the encounter with the Frisians at Hoogwoude. No treason, as is sometimes asserted, but simply imprudence, led him on the frail ice of the Frisian marshes to his death.

Then began a period of dire confusion for the empire.

Foreign princes—the Guelphic candidate, Richard of Cornwall, brother of the English king, and the Hohenstaufen King Alphonso of Castile—contended with one another for the German kingship. Archbishop Conrad of Cologne was the leader of the English-Guelphic party, which especially found support in the Netherlands, although the Spaniard also had his adherents there. King Richard strove, until his death in 1272, to extend his power from the Rhine into the German empire, but did not succeed. The confusion increased constantly, the princes considered themselves as perfectly independent, and acted as lords of the land in the Netherlands as elsewhere. With the election of King Rudolph of Hapsburg, order began to return somewhat, but neither he, nor Adolph of Nassau, nor his successor, Albert of Austria, had much to do with the Netherlandish provinces. What did the dukes of Brabant and Guelders in their quarrel over Limburg, what did the counts of Holland and Flanders in theirs over Zealand, care for Rudolph's exhortations to peace or his decrees as king? What trouble did the Frisians, between the Lauwers and the Ems, give themselves about the grant of their land by successive kings to Guelders? Whenever the kings are concerned in the country's affairs, it is to give a certain consecration to disputed feudal rights or to stipulations regarding the succession, since the royal title was still significant in the eyes of many. But, when it comes to asserting these rights, the princes simply go their own way. At the investiture of a count or duke, the king was still consulted: within a year and a day the nobleman, by a decree of 1299, must present himself before him. But this was merely a form, since the feudal lord lacked the power to enforce it. The king made treaties with counts and dukes as with independent princes, and they acted entirely independently in their treaties also with foreign powers—as the kings of England and France,—sometimes directed against the German king

himself. How little power the king of the Holy Roman Empire actually possessed in these remote regions appears from the fact that Albert, counting upon the numerous enemies of John II. of Holland and Hainaut, summoned him to Nimwegen for judgment (August, 1300), but, on his approach with a considerable fleet, had to take to flight. About 1300, the German kingship had become but a name in the Netherlands, respect for which was ever growing less. The counts and dukes were in fact kings in their lands: they had acquired almost all the royal rights, as they were more and more impelled to undertake the king's obligation to maintain peace.

The dukes, bishops, and counts exercised their authority as little as did the kings in earlier days without calling in the advice and help of others. These others were, first, simply the prince's relatives, the most eminent personages of the land; later, they were usually those holding the chief places in the developing court, as officers or servants of the lord, in imitation of what was the custom at royal courts. In the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, princely councils or courts were formed in all the Netherlands, the chancellor, dapifer, seneschal, cup-bearer, chamberlains, and other functionaries being received in them. Most of these dignities, whose holders appeared in the prince's council, were hereditary in certain families. It remained customary to have other prominent noblemen in this council, without whom no important measure was adopted. Gradually, however, the prince felt the need of advisers dependent upon and responsible to him alone. As a rule, he chose them not from the powerful families but from the lower clergy and nobility. For the government, in the widest sense of the word, of the parts of the land that were too distant to be governed directly by the count himself, officers of different names were appointed as the count's representatives. In Flanders, there were castellans, or burggraves,

who, as early as the twelfth century, were also to be found in Zealand, Holland, Utrecht, and who had not only to guard a castle but also to govern the surrounding country; in Brabant, there were seneschals for the same purpose; in Overijssel, bailiffs. These offices, usually in the hands of eminent noblemen, showed a tendency to become hereditary in the families of these lords; but it is evident that the princes were little pleased with this. They endeavoured in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, so far as possible, to replace the hereditary officers by temporary and more dependent ones. These new officers appear in different regions with the title of bailiffs, provosts, or marshals, and about the end of the thirteenth century are everywhere to be found in the Netherlandish states. The large districts were generally the old ones, into which the country had been divided since Carlovingian times. Under the bailiffs, were the sheriffs of the smaller districts, having charge of the government.

Thus, before the end of the thirteenth century, there was everywhere in the Netherlands a regular government, administered by rulers of different names—dukes, bishops, counts, lords—but, in fact, of the same nature, springing from the emancipation of the count's authority, now independent of the king, in whose name it had been formerly exercised. A new order of things had come out of the confusion and uncertainty of the last centuries; the new states had, in general, secured their fixed boundaries; within those boundaries, the count's government was regularly organised, as much as possible retaining the old names and forms, and was conducted in accordance with the old customs and laws by a number of officers responsible to the count alone. In the North only, on the coast east of the Vlie, the rule of the count had not been maintained. There the country was divided into a number of districts, where usually the native nobility—always in obedience to old laws, which were here attributed to

Charlemagne—had the management of affairs in their hands. The authority in the different districts remained with the noble *consules*, *jurati*, *judices*, *edictores*, under whom in the villages the *scultetus* looked after justice and the government. At the head of these governing bodies stood the *edictor*, *orator*. Nothing was to be seen here in the thirteenth century of any influence of the lower classes upon the administration, except in West Friesland before its subjection. Again it is old customs, names, and forms, which, in union with new conditions, obtained new life, a proof of the conservatism characterising human society, of the tenacious holding fast to peculiarities once adopted, by which the continuity of history so plainly comes to light. Human society may be modified, ever varying, sometimes rising to a higher order, then falling lower, but the forms once taken endure, because they find the reason of their existence in the nature of society itself.

Besides resting upon the fidelity and attachment of his subjects to his house and person, upon the compass and nature of his territory's boundaries, upon the number and bravery of his knights and vassals, upon the defensibility of his strongholds, the power of the count depended upon the extent of his possessions and upon the revenue he drew from his land. It is sometimes asserted that the authority of the lord really developed from great landed possessions. Now, it is probable and generally demonstrable, that the later lord of the different countships and duchies in these regions was at first a great landowner. It is also evident that the counts existing there in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries mainly owed their eminent position to the circumstance that they belonged to the largest landed proprietors of their neighbourhood. It is by no means a consequence that their power arose from their great estates. The history of the development of this power shows, on the contrary, that it resulted from

the count's securing methodically the public rights once belonging to the king, whose officer he had been. His position as a great landowner was indeed a strong factor in the formation of his power, and remained later a solid foundation for his continuance as the lord of the land. The count's domain was diminished by donations to meritorious persons, especially in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but, on the other hand, numbers of people sold their property to the powerful count, and he obtained possession of the old royal rights, the so-called "regalia," deriving great advantages from them.

In the first place, came the numerous tolls in his territory, which he secured with or without the king's consent. Then, there was the important right of coining money, in the thirteenth century everywhere in the count's possession. Formerly, the count had simply exercised, in the king's name, a supervision over the money, which was sometimes not even coined in his countship; later, he received with the mint the right of coinage also; still later, this was all given or relinquished to him by the king. Afterwards he coined his own money without concerning himself about the old imperial currency, its appearance and value. Further, the count possessed the right of escorting travellers or protecting merchants, on which account numberless licences were purchased by tradesmen, in order, unmolested, to carry on their business in the countship; on the same principle, certain amounts were paid by money-brokers for the exercise of their profession. The count also had the right of demanding money from the Jews for protecting them; the right of hunting, by which money was received from the owners of hunting grounds before they enjoyed the privilege of hunting there; the right of keeping swans, which formerly belonged to the lord of the land; the right of founding cities, for which the new citizens usually paid large sums as well as for further privileges. Finally, there were the very ex-

tensive rights to such personal and real property as could be considered without an owner: to whatever was cast upon the coast; to the property of exiles, criminals, people dying without heirs, strangers even, in case their heirs did not appear within a certain time; to the increase of rivers; to the fisheries; to what was called wilderness, *i. e.*, dunes, morasses, etc., later even to the undivided portion of the mark. He had the rights of brewing, milling, holding markets, weighing, establishing schools, brokerage, etc., within and without the newly founded cities. To these must be added the fines which the count claimed, partly as presider over justice, partly because he had taken the king's place, and further the sums people paid the count for exemption from the duty of supporting him while he was staying in a place to administer justice. An important source of revenue was everywhere the *bede*, *precaria*, or *petitio*. These taxes, usually paid in the spring and fall, sometimes three times, sometimes only once in the year, dated from Carolingian times. Then they were contributed to the king and collected for him by the count; later, the count had them collected for himself by his own officials. They were thus generally paid by the people to the count, at first voluntarily, as appears from their name. For a long time, they had now become an ordinary tax, from which, as a rule, the nobility and clergy were exempt. Finally may be mentioned the extraordinary contributions, in some cases prescribed by feudal customs: on the occasion of journeys to Rome, to the king, or to the Holy Land, of receiving knighthood, of the marriage of the lord's daughters, of the accession of a new lord, of his or his son's captivity.

This was indeed a considerable number of sources from which the lord of the land could draw his revenue. But it should be remembered that a very large portion of this revenue, as early as the thirteenth century, had been granted in fief or absolutely by the lords to their noblemen, clergy, and other subjects. Thus we possess a list of

the fiefs which existed in Holland in the time of Floris V. No less extensive were the fiefs in Utrecht, Guelders, and the southern sections. In Brabant, the number of the fiefs amounted to two thousand five hundred before the middle of the fourteenth century. Account must also be taken of the many estates bestowed, earlier or later, by the count upon his noblemen, either given as a present, or sold for cash. If this all be considered, it makes a great diminution in the apparently ample revenue of the lord of the land, and it does not seem strange to us that some lords, the bishops of Utrecht for example, were burdened with debts. Extraordinary contributions from the subjects were therefore regarded as increasingly necessary in different regions during the thirteenth century. How often do we hear of money received by the lord from great noblemen or wealthy citizens, from Lombard or Jewish money-changers! And do we not everywhere see efforts made to bring about a better administration of the princes' revenue? Are not registers of fiefs and possessions established, regular accounts introduced, apparently for the purpose of causing a more abundant flow of revenue by careful management? This all proves that the lords of the land, in the thirteenth century, were already labouring under the same difficulties which later were to compel them to exercise their authority more and more under control of their subjects, since they needed the financial help of the latter to do what was required of the lord. It may be said in general that, in the middle of the thirteenth century, the newly developed power of the lord, only slightly limited by the will of the subjects, possessed its greatest influence. After this time, the independence of the feudal lords of the land was speedily lost, especially in consequence of the financial embarrassments with which they had to struggle. It was the time of the rise of the three estates: clergy, nobility, and people, each in its way striving to curb the power of the prince, and to strengthen its own influence in the government.



CHAPTER XI

THE CLERGY

SINCE the introduction of Christianity into these lands, the number of churches and convents had steadily increased, and with them the number and influence of the clergy. Although, at the beginning of the twelfth century, the care of souls in some districts could still be only imperfectly attended to for want of help, the great number of churches large and small—even in very insignificant places chapels were to be found—show conclusively that the number of the clergy must have been very considerable. Again and again we note in our documents the foundation of new chapels mentioned, either because the nearest church was hard to reach, or because a sufficient number of inhabitants had collected at a certain point, or because it was desired to make church-going easy for some landowner, usually a nobleman, by letting him build his own chapel close to his house or castle. The mother church, to which the chapel belonged, then retained spiritual jurisdiction over the congregation of the daughter church, claimed some contributions for its own support, but generally allowed the chapel its priest, dependent on that of the mother church, and always the right of christening children there or of burying the dead in the new cemetery. Thus it came about that in church matters many villages remained more or less dependent upon some other village. Property and tithes, going originally to the mother church

alone, were divided to maintain chapels and pay their priests. The *personæ*, *plebani*, *rectores*, or parish priests, often had a large number of *vicarii*, or chaplains, under them. Usually the *prebenda sacerdotalis*, that portion of the church property destined for the support of the priest, was kept separate from the other property of the church.

The ever increasing monastic orders could also show a large number of clergy. Benedictine monks and nuns were early settled in the country. Many convents of this order had risen in the seventh and eighth centuries in the South, in the ninth and tenth centuries in the North, founded by the liberality and piety of wealthy believers, sometimes in fulfilment of a vow or to atone for a crime, sometimes built by monks in a hitherto uninhabited and inhospitable district. These convents suffered much damage in the time of the Northmen, and their discipline sadly deteriorated, but the monastic reformation emanating from the French monastery of Cluny in the tenth century had here also a powerful influence for good. Later, in the twelfth century, St. Norbert, abbot of Prémontré, and St. Bernard of Clairvaux, who had somewhat softened the strict rules introduced by Robert of Cîteaux, founded the famous orders of the Norbertines, or Premonstratensians, and the Bernardines, or Cistercians. The grey habits of the former and the white ones of the latter were both soon numerous in the country, and some zealous monks, the Cistercians especially, imitating the old Benedictines, appeared in many places as clearers of the land.

Not merely in material ways were these convents of great service, but also as centres of civilisation and development, and in war-ravaged Friesland particularly were they notable as seats of peace and order. Many a district is indebted to these monks for its dikes, roads, its very existence, its rising up out of the waters; many an abbot was a celebrated literary man, a poet, the historian of his monastery; many a monk appeared as a peace-

maker in those troublous centuries. It is universally known that the clergy, the monks above all, were the learned men of the time. The rich conventual libraries of Egmont and Bloemhof, the historical writings coming down to us from many monasteries, the fame of men like Abbot Geyko and Abbot Emanuel of Aduard, of Sigebert of Gembloux, of numbers of the pupils of the Liege and Utrecht chapter-schools, of Abbot Hariulph of Oudenburg, etc., are so many proofs of the diffusion of learning among the clergy. This learning was usually acquired at the celebrated universities of Bologna, Paris, Orleans, Oxford, where many Netherlanders figured on the lists of students. Other monks were known as not undeserving writers of Latin hymns, poetical lives of the saints, and pious verses. Maerlant and Stoke, the most noted Netherlandish authors of the thirteenth century, belonged to the clerical profession. The clergy were also the school-teachers. The Benedictine as well as the Cistercian and Premonstratensian convents were justly famous for their excellent schools, where the trivium and quadrivium were studied. The trivium comprised the more literary branches : grammar, rhetoric, and logic ; the quadrivium the so-called liberal arts : arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. Even in the little villages of remote Friesland, there was an opportunity of gaining an elementary knowledge of reading and writing under the guidance of the clergy. No accusation against the clergy is more unjust than that they, at this time, did not consider science and education important ; on the contrary, so far as they could, they kept the torch of learning lighted in those uncivilised ages.

In the later as well as in the earlier Middle Ages, art was not neglected in many a Netherlandish convent. Many a monk was noted as an ecclesiastical architect ; many a miniature in manuscripts coming from the convents shows a taste for art ; many notices of sculpture and painting in

the monasteries have survived ; many relics of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries prove artistic aptitude. Architecture especially owes much to the clergy. There were indeed architects among the laymen in those days. We know of Cologne architects, who carried the architecture of the metropolis far north into the Frisian country. But these lay architects were mostly occupied with the erection of ecclesiastical buildings, almost the only stone buildings of the period with the exception of the castles of the nobility. In building these churches and convents, the requirements of the church service, the customs of the clergy transmitted for centuries, had to be considered. Is it strange that numbers of the clergy took up the study of ecclesiastical architecture, enabling them to have churches and convents constructed in accordance with the demands of the Christian religion ? The monastic orders, in planning their habitations, usually followed the arrangement of the mother convent. Aduard, famed for its beautiful architecture, was built after the model of the convent of Clairvaux, the celebrated Cistercian abbey ; the Premonstrants generally adhered to the arrangement of the monastery of Prémontré, copying it more or less faithfully. The Byzantine architecture of the ancient basilicas was a product of Christian ecclesiastical art, as was the Romanesque, with its depressed arches and its dark crypts, which replaced it in the tenth and eleventh centuries, as was also the so-called Gothic which appeared here in the fourteenth century and raised its pointed arches towards heaven.

The character of the other arts was likewise ecclesiastical. Painting served first to adorn the church buildings, to give a more beautiful exterior to the consecrated objects of the divine service, to make a richly coloured mystic light shine through the lofty windows, to throw greater brilliancy around the artless images of Christ and the saints by polychromatic decoration, to cause the

symbolical mysteries of the altar to speak more plainly by depicting scenes from Holy Writ. Sculpture was chiefly occupied in representing saints and martyrs in wood or stone, or in forming sepulchral monuments to be placed in the churches and ornamented with religious emblems. The music of the time was principally church music, inspired, from the days of Gregory the Great (600), by his earnest and profound spirit. It is a generally recognised fact that, in the ninth century, "the great turning-point in music" first appeared in Flemish convents and churches with the introduction of the harmonic part-song, followed a century later by the close union of more than one melody in the same song. The Flemish monk, Hucbald of St. Amand, who lived about 900, is celebrated not only as a writer of saints' lives and a poet, but also as the reformer of church song in this direction. Later, Franco of Cologne (1200) made himself known by the invention of music measured by tones of different duration. And who doubts that poetry was in close alliance with the church? When, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, poetry began gradually to treat of worldly subjects, it was still largely the domain of the clergy, into which only exceptionally a layman ventured. Before this time, we hear mostly of hymns composed in the monasteries, or in any event by clerical personages. Men like Bishop Adelbold and other Utrecht prelates of the tenth and eleventh centuries are noted as writers of religious poems and hymns. Like the *Ludwigslied*, *Reynard the Fox*, although a sharp satire on the clergy, seems plainly to have been written by a priest. Of the clergy, were the authors of the earliest Netherlandish poems that have come down to us, as of the French originals, from which they were adapted or slavishly translated. And how could this well be otherwise? What other men before the thirteenth century could undertake works of culture and learning? It is indisputable that, from the ninth to the fourteenth century,

the clergy were the representatives not only of erudition but also of art, of human civilisation in general. The convents were then the depositaries of society's greatest treasures, of "the salt of the earth."

Besides the monks proper, the convents often contained, from the twelfth century, a large number of "converts," laymen, who had only partially embraced the monastic life, having taken the vows of obedience, chastity, and attachment to the monastery, and who released the monks from the burden of daily drudgery, so that they could devote themselves more exclusively to their religious duties. The number of converts was frequently greater in a convent than that of the true monks, so that the quiet cloistral life was seriously threatened by inmates fresh from the world and filled with worldly thoughts. Pope Innocent III. declared that they should not exceed twice the number of monks. This limitation, however, was soon not strictly observed, and the converts became in many a convent the cause of decline and even of dissolution.

The twelfth century saw, further, the rise of the religious orders of knighthood, which, on the fall of the Christian dominion in the East, settled in the West, established a number of commanderies there, and acquired great possessions. The Templars especially thus aroused the envy of both temporal and spiritual powers. Many noblemen of the Netherlands joined this order, or that of the Knights of St. John, or the Teutonic order; many free citizens and peasants united with them. Then came the silent Carthusians with their austere rules. In the thirteenth century, arose the mendicant orders, those of St. Francis and St. Dominic, which did not, like the Carthusians, stand apart from actual life or separate themselves as much as possible from the world, but, on the contrary, appeared active in society to convert heretics, hear confessions, and preach the gospel. They did not, therefore,

settle down at remote places in quiet villages, like other orders, but sought out populous cities and centres of social life. Such princely personages as Countess Margaret of Flanders favoured them; citizens were won over by their practical activity; authorities called them in to support the pastors in their duties. In almost every city, their monasteries were to be found, soon the most populous of all. Add to these the numerous clerks, who advanced no further than the first steps in ecclesiastical life, took only the tonsure and the clerical habit, and were strongly represented among the teachers, sextons, writers, or jurists, particularly in the cities and at the courts; the canons of the numerous chapters settled in the chief places; finally the Beguines and Beghards—and it is evident that the clergy formed an influential power in the states of the thirteenth century.

Peculiarly Netherlandish—South Netherlandish above all—were the Beguines, originating in the twelfth century. The Liege priest, Lambert, perhaps called *le Bègue* (the Stammerer), founded, apparently, the first Beguinage, on the Meuse, in 1184. It was chiefly women who, unwilling to submit to the strict monastic life and yet anxious to retreat from the turmoil of the world, went to dwell together, assumed the conventual garb, and lived quietly in their picturesque little houses upon the product of the work of their hands, mostly weaving wool and making lace. The true monks were vexed at seeing these lay sisters come into their ranks. They often made difficulties for them, accused them of heresy, and opposed them in all possible ways. But the Beguines increased in numbers.

Some idea may be formed of the number of the clergy in the country. Between the Vlie and the Weser, there were about fifty Cistercian and Premonstratensian convents; in 1287, the Premonstratensians alone could show nearly four thousand inmates, the converts probably

included. In Flanders, at the same time, there were eighteen Benedictine, twenty-two Cistercian, six Premonstratensian convents, more than thirty unions of regular and worldly canons, thirteen Beguinages, etc.

And not only was the number of the clergy very considerable; their possessions and revenues were constantly growing. Many abbeys could boast of princely wealth; many convents owned numerous farms, where their tenants or farmers lived and cultivated the ground. The thick cartularies of the convents, in which all these possessions were recorded, give even now evidence of the clergy's material power, and so also do the extensive registers compiled when the pope, as decreed by the council of 1270, obtained a tenth of all ecclesiastical revenue for a new crusade to the Holy Land. There was complaint almost everywhere—and often rightly—of unjust seizure of ecclesiastical tithes and lands by princes and noblemen; nearly every convent was disputing with its worldly neighbours about its rights; but the piety of the laymen seems, in the thirteenth century, still to have been strong enough to induce them to make large donations to the church. With all this, there was already some talk of hampering the clergy in their acquisition of land and revenue from it, as well as of subjecting them to the ordinary taxation, from which they had so far been exempt.

A subject of constant difficulty was the tithes. The clergy, appealing to the Mosaic law, which granted the priests a tenth of the harvest and cattle, had, especially since the synod of Macon in 585, strongly asserted claims to tithes, and it was a fact that many a king and count had recognised and confirmed these claims. Abbot Menco, of Wittewierum, could thus, without much exaggeration, declare that, in the thirteenth century, "among all Christian peoples Friesland alone paid no tithes," from which circumstance he thought the great

inundations of his time were to be explained as a punishment from God. In the thirteenth century, almost all tithes from newly cleared ground in Holland, as well as in Guelders, still belonged to the bishop of Utrecht. But besides ecclesiastical tithes, there had also been secular tithes since the days of Rome, paid to the Roman state for the use of the state's lands. From these, the custom had developed of contributing tithes to the landowner for the use of his land. In the course of time, from the period of Charles Martel notably, ecclesiastical tithes had been unjustly taken from the church, sold or given away by her, or assigned for special purposes. Lay landowners had likewise sold or donated their tithes to the church, while, here and there, illegal seizures by the church must not be excluded. Thus the origin of many tithes had become uncertain, and this gave rise to numerous disputes, which divided clergy and laity, particularly with the great envy awakened among laymen by the rich revenues from church tithes.

There is still the question, what made the clergy more powerful, their great wealth, or their church government?

Under the pope, stood the archbishops and bishops, more or less dependent upon Rome, at the head of the archbishoprics and bishoprics established here since the introduction of Christianity. For a long time, the smaller sees in the South were united with others under one head. With the development of the church, the bishops needed more help. In Carlovingian times, country bishops had been appointed, but these began to threaten the power of the real bishops, on which account, from the end of the ninth century, various bishoprics had an ever increasing number of archdeaconries established under archdeacons, who were each intrusted with the care of a certain district. Under these archdeacons there were deacons, having charge especially of the holding of church meetings, of synods. The development of the power of

the archdeacons in opposition to the bishop persuaded the latter again to introduce new and more dependent officials. Such officials became all the more necessary when the bishop figured also as a temporal ruler and had to defend himself against assaults from within and without, particularly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

This union of spiritual and temporal duties often brought great difficulties upon the bishop and his bishopric. The election of a bishop was frequently the cause of great confusion in the diocese. The struggle of the eleventh century in the German empire between pope and emperor was thus produced. The emperor could not consent to have the pope appoint so powerful a lord of the land; the pope could not allow the emperor to name the head of the church in any region. The election of the bishop was of old—in name at least—a prerogative of the entire church of the diocese, but very soon only the higher clergy or the neighbouring noblemen exercised that right. When the Carlovings came into power, the king made his influence felt in the election, and thus it may be said that here, as late as in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the temporal ruler actually appointed the bishop. What was true of the bishops was also true of the abbots of the rich convents. Naturally this gave rise to great irregularities: bishoprics and abbeys were bestowed by simony, for money or on certain conditions; unworthy persons came into possession of high ecclesiastical dignities.

Thus great discordance arose between pope and emperor, the former insisting upon election according to the rules of the church, by the higher clergy and independent of the temporal power, as well as upon the prohibition of simony, and upon celibacy. Moreover, with the development of the feudal states, the neighbouring lords and princes acquired great influence in the election, and often secured the elevation of their friends or relatives. The

election of a new bishop, therefore, was usually the signal for serious disturbance, bribery, and even violence in the vicinity of the electoral college. Different parties disputed the victory; there were double elections; and many a diocese experienced times of terrible confusion as soon as a bishop died. Much often happened before the man chosen by the majority of the chapters obtained consecration from the pope or confirmation from the emperor. There had to be much paying out of money, much disputing and intriguing, before the new prince of the church could have his state entrance. At Utrecht, he then came into the city, in full armour, accompanied by his noblemen, followed by exiles, who, "falling into line," returned with him. After receiving homage as lord of the city, he exchanged his warlike dress for that of a priest, and was conducted by his clergy to the church, to obtain there from the deacon of the cathedral the keys of his castles and the seals.

Notwithstanding the concordat of Worms in 1122, which left free choice to the chapters of the bishopric, to be followed by confirmation of the temporal power by the emperor, of the spiritual power by the pope, there was endless dissension in regard to each new incumbent of the sees. Many an elected bishop, for want of the papal confirmation, had to content himself with this title alone, and died as an "elect." The condition of the bishopric of Utrecht was very remarkable under Otto III., who, as the elect, ruled it more than eight years without being a priest, and then had to be admonished to let himself be consecrated. John of Nassau at Utrecht, Henry of Guelders at Liege, remained elects during their entire rule, and could not obtain the papal consecration. At the end of the century, we see the pope repeatedly take the appointment of a bishop, of him who was to govern the church in quite an extensive territory, from the chapters. Using his reserved rights,

he filled the bishop's chair of Utrecht in the interest of the church, without reference to the chapters. The disordered state of the imperial authority made this possible. But the papal power, likewise, was not what it had once been, and so the new measure could not have the desired result. The bishop's staff continued to be an apple of discord between the neighbouring princely families.

If the church had only been united, firmly bound together, as the Catholic Church now is, no power in the world could have withstood it either in great or little things. How was it then? The spiritual jurisdiction of the synods of bishops and deacons had been much extended in the time of the later Carlovings. Not only ecclesiastical affairs, offences against "God's law" in the widest sense, were there considered, but also worldly questions were often preferably submitted to the educated spiritual judges, either because the clergyman was an especially venerated person, whose decision would make an impression, or because the uncertain chance of the ordeals rarely or never appeared in the spiritual courts. With the increasing confusion in the church, the declining credit of the clergy, the developing power of the lords of the land and their growing care for better justice, especially in consequence of the extortions of the clerical judges, the people in the thirteenth century turned from the spiritual courts, opposed their sentences, and cared little for excommunication, which—perhaps from its frequent use—was then accounted of slight importance, even though the pope pronounced it.

The literature of the thirteenth century gives us no edifying picture of the clergy of those days. While the ancient "Reynard" scoffs at the priest, and with his sharp satire strikes the entire order, Maerlant and other writers do not stop at ridicule, but fight bitterly against the scandalous abuses of their time in ecclesiastical

matters. Although Maerlant is not blind to the evils of monastic life, he addresses himself above all to the parish priests and high prelates. Earnestly does he complain of the luxury in which the lords of the convent revelled, of their partiality towards the rich :

“ To the rich they give sepulture,
Of the poor have they no care.”

He laments over the mercantile spirit of the Cistercians, kindled by the profits their goods brought in the neighbouring markets. He speaks, with no uncertain purpose, of earlier times, when the monks were what they should be, and lived by trade and labour, earning their support in poverty, while now they had exchanged the rye and barley bread and the festal wine for fine wheat bread and the daily distribution of wine. But all his sharpness he turns against the hunters after prebends, the money-lovers who batten on “ God’s inheritance, that is, church property.” Fiercely does he assail the simony, unchastity, and gluttony of the priests of his time. He says of them :

“ I think one ne’er did see
Folk so in chase agree.”

He censures the drunkenness contaminating them all, and grieves at the shame thus inflicted upon Holy Church. A selection might be made from many a writer of the misdeeds imputed to the clergy. And the facts which we know do not contradict the assertions of the writers. How should it be otherwise ? In so rude a society as that of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, who could expect the clergy to be an exception to the general rule ? The clergy came out of a population just beginning to throw off the wild spirit that had for centuries pervaded these parts. They were the brothers of the rough knights, the rude peasants, the little civilised and turbulent denizens of the cities. It was not to be imagined that with the clerical garb

they would assume another and a softer nature, although it cannot be denied that they indeed appeared numberless times as peacemakers in the endless strife of the time.

Is it, furthermore, strange that we see heresy also flourishing in the Netherlands in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries? The most dangerous heretic of the country was Tanchelinus. About 1110, the only priest proclaiming the gospel at Antwerp was a bad servant of the church. The people there were a flock without a shepherd and easily to be won over by this heretic, of whom contemporary and later accounts relate much that is terrible and ridiculous. Concerning these reports, it must be remembered that they were made by faithful sons of the church; and with caution, therefore, is the statement to be accepted, that he appeared as a pope, showed himself in splendid apparel, and practised the grossest immorality; but from what is communicated to us about his doctrine, it seems plain that he bitterly opposed the clergy, and that his principles were allied to those of the Catharists dispersed everywhere through the West; particularly, that he succeeded in gathering fanatical followers, who would go through fire for him, and often did so literally. His adherents so revered him, according to our authorities, that they even drank the water in which he had bathed! It is said that women sacrificed their honour to him. He denied the presence of Christ in the sacrament, which he considered of no value, and repudiated the clergy. Moving about with a band of three thousand armed men, he braved the temporal power, and found a great following among the men and women of Antwerp and the neighbouring sea-coast. Neither the armies of Godfrey the Bearded, nor the preaching of St. Norbert himself could subdue his followers, until finally a priest murdered him in a boat. Half a century later, his adherents were still to be found as far away as Saxony. His example had imitators.

Protesters against infant baptism, marriage, oaths, appeared as heretics in Liege and elsewhere during the twelfth century. The clergy of Liege recognised, in 1145, that almost all the cities of Northern France and the bishopric itself were infected with heresy. In Flanders, the Piphili, or Populicani, were found, especially among the weavers, similar in their doctrines to the old Manichæans. Flemish Catharists were burned, in 1163, at Cologne, after they had been discovered in a barn near the city; a beautiful girl among them would not be pardoned, and threw herself into the fire to die with her friends. A great hunt after heretics took place, in 1183, in Flanders and Artois; fagots and ordeals by fire were there the order of the day, chiefly by reason of the great strictness of the Flemish Count Philip of Alsace. At Treves, in 1231, a sect was discovered which possessed translations of the Scriptures into the vernacular, and with them won adherents in the neighbouring dioceses.

More and more it became evident, however, that the ordinary inquisition, that of the bishops, though often strongly supported by the temporal arm, was not powerful enough to suppress the ever increasing heresy. The Dominican order, the preaching friars, undertook to do this. Their convents sprang up everywhere, favoured by papal commands and the coöperation of the lords of the land. Henry I. of Brabant, Johanna and Margaret of Flanders, were prominent supporters of the Dominicans. The Dominican Robert, formerly a heretic himself, was active in Flanders, and lighted there the fires of persecution; the "hammer of the heretics," as he was called, had, among others, ten heretics burned at Douay in May, 1234. It is plain that this sharp persecution was not everywhere approved of, and even the clergy regarded these papal inquisitors with distrust, while the people often helped the victims to escape, or sheltered them. The ecclesiastical authorities repeatedly had to intervene against this

opposition. The heretical Stedingers received sympathy from the allied Frisians. The Beguines, everywhere respected, did not remain free from the accusation of heresy. But even under this great persecution, heresy continued to raise its head in different regions, and particularly in Flanders. Pope Gregory IX., who recognised that "heresy was necessary, not only unavoidable, but even useful," because the sons of the church were compelled to refute the heretical propositions by doctrine and life, thus showed a clear insight into the causes of heresy, prominent among which must certainly have been the complaints about the life of the clergy. It is evident, too, from the growing heresy, that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the clergy, however powerful and wealthy, had reached the summit of their influence, and that this was already beginning to decline. Both princes and people opposed this influence more freely, and although the clergy endeavoured to maintain their position, a period of laxity had come, which in the next two centuries was to be followed by still greater decay.

With all this, the clergy in the thirteenth century still formed an order that could measure itself with any other in wealth, distinction, and influence upon society. The childlike faith of those times was still fervent enough to secure the influence of the worthy priest, who mediated between Christ and sinful mortals, of the pious monk, who retired from the world's turmoil. And, although heresy appeared boldly, especially among the lower classes of the population, although writers like Maerlant pointed out the faults of the clergy, although the authority of the church was dangerously undermined by the worldliness of the ecclesiastics, the situation was not yet bad enough to make opposition to the church arise otherwise than sporadically. The artless belief of the multitude, as the *Dialogues* of Cæsarius of Heisterbach, the chronicle of Egmont, and the lives of the abbots of

Mariengarde reveal it to us; the mystical tendencies appearing in Maerlant's sacred poems; the childish and, in our eyes, not seldom unæsthetic superstition of the legends of the Madonna, St. Brandan, and St. Servaas; many a tale testifying to the revival of ancient Teutonic mythology in a fanciful world of devils, good and bad; many a touch giving evidence of ardent piety and deep reverence for the doctrine of the church—this all proves that the influence of the church was still great enough to cause the clergy to be honoured, if not as the first order of Christendom, at least as the peer of the proud nobility, and with it one of the two pillars upon which the society of the time seemed to rest.





CHAPTER XII

THE NOBILITY

FROM the end of the eleventh century, the nobility played an ever increasing part in the German states, above all in Lorraine. It began to be separated more and more from the rank of freemen, out of which it had sprung, and to which it was at first considered to belong. Gradually, it applied the name of *nobilis* to itself alone: the freeborn peasants and inhabitants of the city, who did not devote themselves to war, lost this title, to bear only that of freemen. Thus the nobility appeared as a new order. The nobility, preëminently the military order, had been chief among those to stand by the side of the counts in the defence of the countships. In his castles, erected at the command or with the permission of the king or count, the nobleman with his family enjoyed advantages and riches mostly obtained in war. His possessions in the neighbourhood of the castle were incessantly enlarged, either by donation from the count, or by purchase, marriage, or inheritance. He was named after the place of his stronghold. The count gave him there, not only land, the right of hunting, and tithes in payment of services rendered or to be rendered, but soon intrusted to him also the government of the surrounding country, or district. Thus he became to the count what the latter had once been to the king: a servant who, though really only his master's representative, began to regard

himself as the lord, and the subordinate free and serf population of his district as *his* servants. The *miles de Wassenare* became *dominus*, or lord of Wassenaar, the bailiff of Amstel became knight, later lord, of Amstel, like the governor of Egmont and many others. Just as the king had become dependent upon his counts, the count in his turn became dependent upon the powerful nobility, on which his own power rested. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, this order therefore managed to secure a very great influence.

The noblemen were not merely the warriors, the officials of the princes; they were the great landowners, the wealthy men, who must be respected by the princes; they were the eminent personages giving tone to the society of the epoch; they were the *primores, meliores, majores*, whom the prince, according to the decrees of Worms, had to consult in making new laws. This nobility was now almost exclusively ministerial, a nobility of service, and was thus distinguished from the earlier one which derived its consideration chiefly from birth and the possession of land. Although some scions of old families, proud of the ancient splendour and wealth of their forefathers, while fighting as knights, might still disdain to accept the favours of duke or count, the number of these haughty lords, subject alone to the king, was constantly decreasing. First one, then another was seen to bow to the count's authority in order to enjoy the advantages which the lord of the land had to offer. Many nobles sold their freehold estates to the count, to receive them again in fief. Thus the castles of the nobility became centres, not only of large landed possessions, but also of government over the surrounding country. The strong walls and moats of these fortresses made them formidable to the neighbourhood, and, on the other hand, formidable also to the lord of the land himself, who was no longer in a condition to curb the arrogance of his

nobles. In some regions, particularly between the Rhine and the Meuse, the noblemen's castles, strong by their situation upon high hills or in being surrounded by rivers, became nests of robbers, from which the travelling merchant was plundered, the prince defied. It is true that, in the Netherlandish districts proper, little is heard of such robberies, but, from events of all kinds, it is apparent that the nobility there also began to be developed in a way that must have seemed dangerous to the counts.

The position of the nobility was peculiar in remote Friesland, notably in the regions between the Weser and Lauwers, where the power of the counts, as early as the eleventh century, had almost entirely disappeared, and feudalism consequently could not develop in the usual way. Here the nobility took its rank less from its exclusive military service than from its large estates. The great landowners, in their more or less fortified castles, pushed the smaller free landowners into the background, and took the leading place in their neighbourhood. They made the other freemen dependent, and governed the country in their own interests, fighting or allying themselves with one another as they pleased. Nearly every village had its noble family or families, whose will was carried out in the administration of justice and government, even in ecclesiastical affairs, and whose representatives united with the other noblemen of the district in ruling it. In a less degree, the same conditions had been developed also in Friesland between the Vlie and the Lauwers. There, too, the landowning nobility was powerful, although it played the master less, perhaps because the power of the counts had been now and then maintained. The Frisian nobles were very barbarous. The monastic chronicles of the land abound in incidents showing their wild love of combat. Under the eyes of the peacemaker, Master Oliver of Cologne, Tithard treacherously cleft the head

of his enemy, Elte, the chief of Middelstum, inviolable though the man was from having taken a crusading vow. Often do we hear of bloody fights, ravaged lands, stolen property, plundered castles, burned churches.

In the twelfth and late in the thirteenth century, the nobility was the most influential order in the Netherlands. Especially in the southern provinces, Brabant and Hainaut (the northern were still backward in civilisation), it was very powerful under the influence of the neighbouring Northern France, where chivalry had been most developed. About 1150, and much later, these regions were, in the matter of knightly observances, a model for the districts of the German empire farther inland. Here lived Godfrey of Bouillon and his friends, the first crusaders, whose example awakened imitation everywhere. Here—in Limburg—was the home of Henry of Veldeke, “the wise man, who, first of all, right rhymes began,” who “grafted the first twig on German tongues”; removing to Thuringia, at the court of the art-loving landgraves, he translated the French romance of *Æneas*, followed by a number of other romances. Here, at the courts of Flanders, Hainaut, Brabant, the French romantic literature flourished, and was transplanted by the Germans to their soil. As early as the thirteenth century, we hear of wandering singers, who were enthusiastically applauded in the castles of the nobility. The whole romantic literature of this century testifies to the existence of a love for such stories among the knights. Here and in Northern France was the home of the chivalry that was praised to the skies by the minstrels. Here and in Northern France were the splendid tournaments, where knights from all lands were matched against one another in the noble art of combat, the chief occupation of their order.

Whoever was of knightly race commenced his career with an education adapted to the demands upon his

position. Bodily exercise, particularly in hunting, was, with the handling of spear and shield, of sword and bridle, the principal thing in bringing up the youthful son of the knight. Reading and writing were scarcely taught him in the most ancient time, but in the thirteenth century, chiefly in princely courts, more attention was given to them, as is evident from the many accounts of princes writing songs themselves. The management of the estates was left to subordinate officials; agriculture seemed, even to the simple and less military Frisian nobility, too low for a nobleman. At an early age, about the twelfth year, the young nobleman entered the service of a knight as a page; during his service he became acquainted with knightly customs, had experience in the courtly art of frequenting the society of the ladies, and soon took part in his master's combats. He was called a squire, and served the knight in that capacity. When he had learned enough, the opportunity was open to him of making himself worthy, by some valiant deed, of being dubbed a knight. Thenceforth, he was fully received in the knightly order, and his duty was to protect religion, women, and the oppressed.

There is a notable description¹ of the manner in which King William of Holland received knighthood at Cologne, October 3, 1247:

“ After all had been made ready in the [Cologne] cathedral, the aforesaid squire William, after a solemn mass, was brought before the cardinal by the king of Bohemia with the following words: ‘ Your Eminence, Gracious Father, we present this chosen squire, respectfully entreating, that Your Reverence will accept his vow, so that he may be worthily received into our knightly community.’ The lord cardinal, in full dress, spoke to the squire, starting out from the signification of the word knight: ‘ Every one who wishes to be called a knight must be constant, noble, generous, spotless, and strong: con-

¹ Beka, p. 77.

stant in adversity, noble of birth, generous in honour, spotless in courtly intercourse, strong in manly courage; but before you make your vow, you shall first hear with mature consideration what duties the rule of the order [of knighthood] brings with it. This, then, is the rule of the knightly order. First of all, with pious attention to hear mass daily; for the Catholic faith bravely to throw your life into the breach; to save Holy Church and its servants from assailants; to protect widows, children, and orphans in need; to avoid unrighteous wars; to refuse unjust reward; to accept combat for the deliverance of any innocent person; not to visit tournaments except for exercise in fighting; respectfully to obey the emperor of the Romans or his representative in temporal matters; to leave the state unimpaired in power; not to alienate the fiefs of kingdom and empire; to live blamelessly before God and man. If you zealously observe and diligently follow these laws of the knightly order, so far as you can or know how, hear then that on earth you will deserve honour for a time and, after this life, eternal rest in heaven.' When this was said, the lord cardinal laid the squire's folded hands in a missal upon the gospel that had just been read, thus speaking: 'Will you then, in the Lord's name, piously accept the order of knighthood and, to the best of your ability, observe the rule explained to you word by word?' The squire answered to this: 'I will.' The lord cardinal now handed the squire the vow, which the squire read in the hearing of all, as follows: 'I, William, chief of the Holland knighthood, free feudatory of the Holy Empire, swear in presence of my lord Peter, cardinal deacon of St. George *ad velum aureum* and legate of the papal see, on this gospel, which I touch with my hand, to observe the rule of the order of knighthood.' The cardinal answered: 'May this pious vow be the true deliverance from your sins. Amen.' When this was over, the king of Bohemia gave a loud blow on the squire's neck with these words: 'To the honor of Almighty God, I ordain you knight and receive you with congratulations into our company. And remember, that the Saviour of the world, in presence of the high priest Annas, was struck and mocked at before you, in presence of King Herod was covered

with a robe and laughed at, and in presence of the whole people was crucified, naked and wounded, on the cross. I counsel you to bear His suffering in mind; I command you to take up His cross; also I admonish you to avenge His death.' When this had all solemnly been accomplished, the young squire began, after a mass, with blare of trumpet, clangour of bell, and beat of drum, a thrice-repeated combat of arms with the king of Bohemia's son, and afterwards, fighting with the naked sword, he ended his squireship, celebrated with great splendour a feast of three days, and showed his liberality by ample presents to all the noblemen."

Naturally, knighthood was not always so solemnly conferred, but the knightly vow and the accolade formed an indispensable element of every elevation to knighthood. Usually, one of his colleagues buckled his sword on the young knight, and then fastened the spurs to his feet. Whether the duties laid upon him were faithfully performed was, particularly in later times, another question. The protection of religion was chiefly attempted by undertaking a crusade. But in the thirteenth century, the true crusades had already lost their attractiveness for the nobility. Although Louis IX. might still succeed in alluring many knights to the East, most of them thought, with Joinville, that there was little good in any such difficult expeditions. The crusades against the Albigenses, the heretics of Southern France, and against the Stedingers, those of the Weser, show plainly that these expeditions were inspired less by zeal for religion than by thirst for adventures and the hope of booty. And this spirit became dominant. The love of adventures, and the force of habit, were the chief motives that led the knights of the fourteenth century to the Holy Land and against the Prussians, Lithuanians, and Moors, and that, as early as the thirteenth century, principally persuaded to such enterprises. Many a knight was not much concerned about the church until he lay upon his death-

bed, and *more Christiani militis*, like a Christian soldier, assumed the ecclesiastical garb to die in it.

Protection of women was mostly understood as the observance of the manners of courtly society. Whoever has some acquaintance with mediæval literature knows how quickly respect for women, inculcated in the knight as a chief duty, degenerated into ordinary love-making. The "love" of the Minnesingers was, even at the beginning of the thirteenth century, a matter of fashion, and led to the wildest extravagance. Veldeke and Maerlant complain greatly about the decline of love and that of honesty. And though the chaste Duke John I. of Brabant, as "father of honour," may take a high place among his contemporaries, he evidently belonged to the rarest exceptions in that respect. Read how the like-minded Ferguut, in the romance of that name written at the commencement of the thirteenth century, is ridiculed for neglecting the opportunity offered him by the beautiful Galiene, when she presented herself one night at his bed, and he, in his ignorance of "knightly" customs, let her go unharmed away. But what is the use of any more? Is it not clear that licentiousness—for so the love-making of the knightly romances may well be called—must have led, in those days and in that uncultured society, to the grossest abuses? And then the helping of the oppressed! A fine idea, but quite impossible to carry out in such a time. The plundering knights of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries furnish the best illustration of the way in which their order comprehended this duty. No; the knights of those days were not, in the first place, "Christian soldiers," but heroes of the tournament.

Let us look at these tournaments more closely. Games of arms were in vogue among the ancient Germans, but, as early as the middle of the eleventh century, real tournaments made their appearance in France, and numerous

examples of them were to be met in Hainaut and Brabant late in the twelfth century. This sort of fighting was more than a game; it was dangerous to life, as is evident from many stories of Netherlandish princes, among others, who perished in such encounters. Of the counts of Holland, we may name Floris IV.; also his brother William and his son Floris met death in a like manner; Duke John I. of Brabant and William of Dampierre died from the consequences of tournaments. The church endeavoured to prevent these dangerous combats by threatening severe ecclesiastical penalties,—as that the killed should not rest in consecrated earth,—but although, with the aid of Henry II. of England and other monarchs, such measures might temporarily succeed, the attraction and the practical utility of these exercises were, in the long run, too great. Richard Cœur de Lion allowed them again; in Germany and France little attention was paid, in this respect, to the decrees of popes and councils. With hundreds, or even thousands, of knights and soldiers, the counts and dukes came to the great tournaments of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, to joust against one another with the blunt but sometimes fatal lance. Then the people flocked together from the neighbouring places, noble dames applauded the knights, clouds of dust enveloped the champions,¹ shields cracked, lances were splintered against the glittering armour, and loud war-cries resounded amid the turmoil of the fight, which awakened the thirst for battle, aroused still more by the shouts of the gazing multitude. It sometimes happened that knights wandered through whole countries, tilting with everybody who would consent to meet them, and in this way won great renown, or—died a miserable, useless death.

There are many descriptions of tournaments in the French romances, which were translated for the Nether-

¹ In a tournament at Neuss, one hundred knights were upon one occasion suffocated by the dust.

landers of the thirteenth century, and have come down to us. One from Ferguut may here find a place.

Galiene, the beautiful, noble lady, wished to enter into matrimony. King Arthur, at whose court in Cardoile she lived, determined to send

“ Servants, heralds into all lands
And have them cry a tournament,”

as the phrase ran, “ outside of Cardoile on that sand.” The knight who, in this tournament, should vanquish Arthur’s knights, might marry Galiene. Arthur “ had letters made and had them carried to all countries: all that were hunting after honour, they were to come to the tournament.” The knights hastened from all directions. Above all, the Round Table was resplendent. On the appointed day, after the mass customary before a tournament had been said, King Arthur had his standard carried afield, and the scaffolds around the battle-ground were filled with the most beautiful ladies of the land; many also remained standing upon the high waggons to have a better view. The king’s herald cried loudly that it was time; other heralds announced the coming of the illustrious knights who appeared to fight against Arthur’s Round Table. One of the members of this circle, the knight Keye, desired the first joust and grasped his lance; proud of the lion in his armorial bearings, he rode forward in sign of challenge. Ferguut, just arrived in time, ventures the first chance. They ride at one another; Keye’s lance breaks against Ferguut’s shield, but the latter throws him out of his saddle, and after him many others. He, the unknown “ knight with the white shield,” attracts universal attention, and wins the prize that day. In the evening, however, when there was a feast at court, the victor was absent: nobody knew him or his whereabouts; and vainly was he sought for among the guests. On the next day, many a knight came to the

field with "shield around his neck, hose bound up." Now the noble Perceval appeared against Ferguut. They gave spurs to their horses, held their lances close under their right arms, and flew at one another. Perceval's lance pierced his adversary's leather jacket and armour, but the white knight sat firmly on his horse, and hit Perceval in the opening of his helmet before his eye. Perceval also fell, and many another after him. Again it became evening. Again Ferguut was missing from the feast at court. So it went on for days, until on the twelfth day Gawain, the king's famous nephew, entered the lists. But against him, Ferguut would not fight: as if vanquished in the combat, he offered him his horse, unbuckled his helmet, and was conducted before King Arthur. Ferguut was adjudged the victor, obtained the prize,

" And had Galiene the beautiful
With great delight all his life long."

Such poems give much too ideal a picture of the chivalry of the middle of the thirteenth century. Not only must it be remembered that the Netherlandish work is, as a rule, little more than a translation of the French original, which perhaps was written half a century earlier, but also that the poets did not intend to show what the knights of their own time did,—rather what they should have done to conform to knightly tradition. The reality was far from answering to the beautifully painted ideals of the poets. The wandering knight, surrounded with a poetic halo, was in reality hardly anything but a highwayman; the relation between knight and lady was rarely characterised by the idyllic simplicity of which Ferguut speaks; the noble art of the tournament often served to satisfy baser passions than knightly valour. These and similar abuses point to the speedy decline of chivalry. But, though this decline existed, it is not to be denied that

the knights, in the thirteenth century, formed an influential order. All through Europe, far into the East, they were united by the bonds which a like education, rank in society, way of life, and like ideas can produce. As they, though scattered over all Christendom, felt themselves one order, so they began, too, in the small states of their residence, to feel and act like one body, and, if necessary, to stand up more or less firmly for their common interests.

But almost at the same time with the elevation of this order, there appeared also opposition to the development of knighthood as a power in the state. This opposition proceeded first from the prince, who, in the rise of the knights, not unnaturally saw a danger to his own authority. Floris V. of Holland, in his contest with the Amstels and Woerdens, the Borselens and Renesses, was in this respect a type of his time. As early as 1159, when the Utrecht knights revolted against Bishop Godfrey "to uphold their rights," they were, though supported by Guelders, put down with force. On the other side, the oppressed peasants turned against their hated oppressors. The peasant uprising in Holland and Utrecht in the time of the minority of Floris V., of which, unfortunately, only scanty accounts have survived, destroyed many knightly castles. The "free people of the Kennemers," united with the Frisians, wished to make the entire diocese of Utrecht into a sort of peasant republic, a *vulgaris communitas*, as Beka says. The insurgents shut the Kennemer nobility in Haarlem and fell upon Utrecht, where the citizens opened the gates for them. At last, the count of Guelders succeeded, with the help of a number of Holland and Utrecht knights, in suppressing the rebellion. The same causes more than a century earlier, in 1132, had agitated the Kennemer peasants, "who complained of severe oppression," the chronicler says, "and, captivated by the idle hope of freedom, united

with the Frisians, to become one people under one chief," the turbulent son of a count, Floris the Black; then Count Dirk VI. had vanquished them without much trouble. In the contest between Count William I. and Louis of Loon in Holland also, an element of opposition between knights and common people is plainly to be recognised: the Holland count relied chiefly on the country people friendly to him, and inimical to the knights of the Liege count. But although the knights were still victorious over the peasants, soon a new power arose, whose rapid growth was to surpass knighthood. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which saw the nobility still flourishing, were, likewise, the centuries in which the burghers, the most powerful foes of the nobility, began to rise.





CHAPTER XIII

THE COUNTRY PEOPLE

THE time was long past in which the soil of the Netherlands had been almost covered with dense forests. The traces we find of such a condition refer to a period that perhaps already lies many thousands of years behind us. They are the countless heavy trunks of trees, found chiefly in the peat, deep under the water-level of the latest centuries; the giants of the woods, once broken like reeds by the north-west wind, and still offering evidence of the fury with which the elements formerly raged unchecked in this part of Europe—long before Celts and Germans showed themselves here. Previous to Roman times, we discover proofs that a considerable portion of the ground must have consisted of pasture and farming land: what the Roman writers relate of the Frisian cattle, of the industry and agriculture of the Nervii and Morini, of the character and country of the Batavians, all proves a state in which primitive forests, disposing “without mercy” of all cultivation, are out of the question, although extensive woods still seemed to be covering a large part of the soil. Civilis’s famous speech and Cæsar’s campaigns have something to say about them. The reports in the lives of the Christian missionaries also testify that various districts already rejoiced in considerable cultivation. In Southern Brabant and in Flanders, in the Betuwe and Twente, among the Holland dunes

and on Walcheren, in the Frisian clay-grounds and around Utrecht, in the neighbourhood of Maestricht and Liege, one must assume quite a large farming and cattle-raising population, without denying, however, that woods and morasses were still everywhere present. Numberless are the places in the Netherlands, which derive their name from the clearing away of wood and marsh. The question is: When was this clearing done, and who did most of it ?

In answering these two questions, it is natural to point to the settlement in these regions of new races in the last centuries of the Roman dominion; to the great development in Charlemagne's time; further, to the unfavourable conditions for new cultivation in the ninth century, at the time of the Northmen's invasions; then, to the revival of law and order in the eleventh and later centuries. But it would be impossible to show in detail how this work was accomplished, the existing data being insufficient. Although here and there we can make out from the names what people founded the villages, although clever investigators have essayed to distinguish Frisian, Frankish, and Saxon local names from each other, still the etymology of these names throws but little light upon the time when the cities and villages had their origin. The date can only be inferred approximately. The documents mostly bring us no farther than to the conviction that, in this or that hundred years, the place named was already in existence. With the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we obtain firmer ground under the feet, so far as concerns this important part of history. From many documents, something is gleaned about the condition of the country, and the local historians are able to cast some light on the increase of cultivation in any given neighbourhood. Thus we see that much was accomplished in those centuries. Everywhere, the convents exercised a most important influence in this re-

spect, making many regions habitable and bringing them under cultivation, protecting threatened districts by dikes, draining marshes, building roads, turning forests into farming land, and, for the purpose of acquiring more land, promoting the digging out of peat. Excluding the peat bogs and later polders, it appears that almost all the present villages and hamlets already existed in the thirteenth century, though often only in germ; that even many villages and hamlets then existing have now disappeared. Most of the present farming or pasture land was then also cultivated or used for pasturage. We find the names of the present villages in Holland, Utrecht, Gelderland, Zealand, Brabant, Flanders, Groningen, and Drenthe then existing. The vicinity of Bruges and the Waes district, Walcheren and the Holland dunes, the Betuwe and Salland, Southern Brabant, with Western Liege and Limburg, seem thus early to have been among the best cultivated regions of Europe. Let us see how the country people lived in those days.

An author of the eleventh century puts in the mouth of a bishop of Cambrai the saying that there are three orders: the clergy, soldiers, and farmers. Perhaps in this division, he adhered too closely to the words of the Old Testament, but it is certain that, at this time, these three orders were sharply separated. The cities were not yet of much importance; they had not attained sufficient weight to tell in the balance. Although some change had come to this state of affairs in the thirteenth century, and no author of the period would have refused to the population of the cities a distinct place in society, then, as ever, the country people remained a principal factor of society. It is to be observed that, here as elsewhere, estates were still constantly growing in the thirteenth century. Notwithstanding this constant growth and the power of the lords in the villages, quite a number of peasant families free from personal serfdom were still left in various

districts. The lord had also become lord of the common land; further, in many marks, he had secured possession of scattered farms; he was master of land, fisheries, hunting, mines, and forests; he was generally in possession of the administration of justice, so that he appointed the judge and his associates in the mark, or village; the free peasants had to pay him taxes, sometimes to do military service; he compelled them to have their corn ground at his mill, their beer brewed at his brewery—but, with all this, they did not yet lose their personal freedom, nor that of their family. They continued to retain the full right to their property, land, cattle, implements, house; they could go unhindered wherever they pleased; they could take their harvest to any market they chose. They should be called dependents, rather than serfs or slaves. Everywhere in the Netherlands, we find, at the time of the crusades, a considerable number of free peasants. From this class came the numerous emigrants, who peopled anew the marshy districts around Bremen and Hamburg, the lands on the Elbe and Oder, deserted by or taken from the Wends, and distant Transylvania, having been driven from home by the terrible inundations on the coasts, or allured by the offers of princes and clergy, who seemed ready to give them what was considered a better place. To the same class belonged, also, the strength of the population of the new cities formed in the Netherlands in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—a population which must have consisted, in part, of the descendants of the old mercantile families in many of those places, in part, of the fugitive serfs or slaves of the neighbouring landowners, but the great mass of which came, apparently, from the free peasants of the vicinity, attracted by the increased security of the cities and by the greater independence of their inhabitants. In the cities, these free peasants often continued the life that they had led in the country.

These free peasants were not, however, independent. They had, in the course of time, been compelled to submit to many pecuniary and personal obligations. It happened that they had to pay considerable sums in all sorts of taxes, which were usually called *exactiones*: ploughing and autumn dues, money for board and lodging, etc.,—as a rule, to obtain relief from services which every freeman had to perform for the representative of public authority, the chief judge in his district. It sometimes happened that the free peasant was constrained to work for a few days of the year on the ground of a lord of the land. The road to the lord's house had become to him a hard but familiar one. Still he remained the "well-born" possessor of his own patrimony, which he could sell or quit, which he could transfer by inheritance to his children without any interference from the lord, and he was free and proud of his freedom, although, by reason of the smallness of his property, he might be forced to lease land from the great landowner under conditions often burdensome.

From these lawful proprietors, the serfs and slaves greatly differed, both on account of their dependence upon the lord's farm, and on account of their slavery. Slavery is contrary to the spirit of Christianity. Christian principles, which were revived in society after the eleventh century, evidently had a good influence on the condition of the slaves. The church began to forbid the sale of slaves without the land to which they belonged; it promised freedom to the slaves who went on a crusade. The canon law, the *Sachsenspiegel*, and other laws, looked upon slavery as an injustice. Besides listening to religious and moral considerations, the owners of slaves understood that it was to their own material advantage to improve the condition of these unfortunates. Did not the thought occur to many that slaves would care better for the property and interests of their masters when they had more of a personal interest in cultivating

the ground? Did not many a landowner take alarm at the increase in the number of slaves who hoped to escape their hard fate by a crusade? Were not the masters incited to caution by the foundation of cities, which usually enjoyed the privilege of conferring freedom upon slaves residing there a certain time? Must not many proprietors have accepted the offer of money for alleviating servitude? Religious, economic, and political motives thus worked together to improve the condition of the slaves, in later centuries—particularly in the thirteenth—to push them on in the direction of serfdom, and, further, to make this serfdom develop towards freedom. The ideas of serfdom and slavery are now mingled. On the farms, no difference is noted between the varieties of servile inhabitants. They were sometimes subject to the provision that, in case of their death, the “best part” of their personal property had to be given up. With this provision was regularly united, on ecclesiastical estates, the payment of a certain capitation, a tax to furnish wax for the altar and the use of the church.

The thirteenth century offers numerous examples of the redemption of such obligations. The best part, in the case of death in the slave's family, is sometimes paid, not in natural products, but in money; the entire obligation is even bought off. The Egmont documents, the accounts of the counts of Holland, often refer to this obligation being redeemed. Count Floris V. of Holland, by many relaxations of this nature, aroused the anger of his noblemen. As early as William II.'s reign, we hear of the emancipation of slaves. It was the time when Countess Margaret of Flanders (1252), following her predecessor's example, allowed all the slaves of her domains, in lieu of half of their property in case of death and in lieu of all service due the lord, to contribute thenceforth, the man three pence, the woman one penny, yearly, and in case of death only the best head of cattle or the best

ornament. It was the century in which the dukes of Brabant gave evidence, in the same way, of understanding the signs of the times: in about 1200 and later, Henry I. released many villages from the obligations of servitude, upon payment of a fixed capitation; Henry II. and his son, in union with their vassals and higher clergy, abolished, by will, serfdom in all their domains. Many noblemen followed the example set them by princes and clergy, and thus, after the thirteenth century, slavery in its full force existed only in Hainaut, Luxemburg, Guelders, and some districts of other states, where the lord had remained in possession of his rights. And, although in many cases something of the old slavery was still left, although many a lord, while emancipating, managed to retain revenue previously enjoyed, the condition of the serf had become much more tolerable. The laws concerning slaves and serfs in olden time had been very oppressive. It is so difficult to give a survey of these laws, everywhere varying, that even the *Sachsenspiegel*, the "German law," has to declare: "Now do not be surprised that this book says so little of the law of serving people, because it is so manifold that no one can come to the end of it; under each bishop and abbot and abbess, the serving people have a peculiar law. Therefore can I not record it."

In general, it may be said that slavery formerly consisted of the following obligations: A slave was bound, irrevocably bound, to the ground upon which he lived; he was bought and sold, exchanged, and mortgaged with it; his inheritance went wholly or in part to the lord; he paid an annual poll-tax; he furnished his master's house with a portion of what his fields produced, of his cattle and poultry, of his fruit and wood; he had to help cultivate the lord's land; he could not marry without his master's consent; he defended the latter's heritage and person; the lord represented him in law. In time, this

was all relaxed or bought off for a fixed annual amount, or for the "best part" in case of death, with the retention of some remnants of former conditions. The centre of the great estate still continued to be the lord's house, the manor, in distinction from the farms of the tenants. The land immediately attached to the manor and cultivated from it constantly diminished from the ever increasing grants to free or serf peasants, but there the lord still lived, or his representative—the *villicus*, or governor,—who collected the revenue of the estate. If a lord had large possessions in some remote district, there also a manor was erected as the centre, with the barns necessary to shelter the harvest coming in from all sides to the master, with the implements needed for cultivating the ground, the registers of the seigneurial estates and rights, etc. The monasteries had, in their more distant possessions, so-called granges, under a granger representing the monastic authorities and looking after their interests.

The lord was still king in his territory, but now, more than ever, a constitutional king, limited not only by the customs prevailing upon his property, but also by contracts made with his dependents, and often paid for by them in hard money. It is an indisputable fact that, in general, the earlier services and natural products, the rights and taxes, were more and more redeemed by the payment of fixed annual sums, which appear under all sorts of names, and may be called tribute. Here and there, a few instances of service due the lord survive until very late times: supplies of poultry, hay, oats, money, even the obligation to work during a certain number of days on the master's land in the ploughing, sowing, and harvest seasons, to transport or lodge him and his family, to help in hunting and fishing. The revolution at the end of the eighteenth century finally put an end to all this. Almost everywhere, the lord's right to tithes was retained, and for centuries longer the peasant at harvest-

time saw the tithe-gatherer appear in his fields to receive the portion due to the distant owner.

Free peasants, those paying tribute or the best part of their property at death, and in some regions serfs of varying condition—these were the elements making up the population of the country in the thirteenth century. The people, not yet entirely free, gradually struggled on towards complete freedom. This struggle naturally led sometimes to disturbances, to peasant insurrections, as in Holland and Utrecht during the time of Floris V.'s minority. Turbulent noblemen, discontented princes, could easily make use of this disposition of the country people for the purpose of troubling the sovereign. In the partially social restlessness of the succeeding centuries, the peasant elements were sometimes to play a part of importance. On the whole, however, the great change was accomplished in a peaceful manner. No sudden upheaval, no overthrow at one stroke, brought about this great social revolution. When the time for it had come, many princes and lords understood the spirit of the epoch and acted accordingly. A revolution, for the most part peaceful, either caused slavery to disappear entirely, or at least notably alleviated it. In the Netherlands, therefore, we have to show no great *jacquerie* as in France, no Peasants' Revolt as in England, no Peasants' War as in Germany, and finally no Revolution like that of France in 1789, no general measures for the abolition of oppressive slavery as in other countries of Europe. In the revolutionary time here—in the United Netherlands as well as in the Southern, then Austrian Netherlands—only the last vestiges had to be cleared away of a condition which, in general, had ceased to exist centuries before.

But life in the country, in the thirteenth century, was hard in many respects. First, there was the insecurity. Many princes were not powerful enough to hold in check

the robbers in their territory, and many lords had great difficulty in remaining master over them. The numberless wars between the rulers of different countries and between noblemen of the same country often prevented the peasant from reaping the fruit of his labours. Where the lord of the land and the higher nobility were wanting, as in Friesland between the Vlie and the Ems, complete confusion frequently prevailed. Then, there were the extortions of the count's or lord's officials, not yet restrained by a sharp superintendence, especially those of the bailiffs, stewards, sheriffs, or whatever they happened to be called. There was the arbitrary administration of justice, making the peasant dependent upon the judge's caprice or goodwill. In this matter, also, improvement came. The great Frisian laws were written in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and various Frisian districts around Groningen obtained written laws in the thirteenth century. For Holland and Zealand, written laws were either granted or confirmed in different parts of the country during the same century. In 1190, the jurisdiction of Bruges received statutes; the land of Waes in 1242. The famous law of Beaumont, in Luxemburg, was given in 1182, and was imitated everywhere in the region. In Hainaut, many villages obtained charters of their own, and, in about 1200, Baldwin of Constantinople granted laws. In Brabant, the knightly John I. proclaimed his celebrated laws in 1292, fixing the penal statutes for his villages, so far as they had not already been settled. It is plain that these laws were often conferred in imitation of what had been done for the cities, and that thus the development of the cities had its influence on them.

Then came the bad harvests, with famine and pestilence in their train. There were the numerous inundations ravaging the country. From the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, only a few scattering records of great floods have come down to us, but they lead us to infer

that conditions then were no better than in the twelfth, thirteenth, and succeeding centuries, when a frightful picture of destruction by water is given. The Holstein pastor, Helmold, speaking of the immigration of Netherlanders into the mark of Brandenburg, about 1160, mentions "the violence of the sea" as the reason for the inhabitants of the Netherlandish coasts being not unwilling to leave their country. For the same period (1170), the Utrecht historian, Beka, notes a flood that brought the sea up to the walls of Utrecht. The Egmont chronicle of Holland adds that, in Kennemerland, cattle were drowned, and men and women were with difficulty rescued from the planks upon which they were floating about. The Frisian monastic chronicle of Wittewierum speaks of the fearful Julian flood of 1163, following that named after the festival of St. Thomas in South Holland, where, in the districts bordering on the sea, no dwelling remained standing, but all the houses and hayricks were swept away by the raging waters. Statistics have been compiled of all the inundations mentioned in the chronicles, and the number of these disasters is appalling. Whole districts were buried under water, bays were extended, lakes were formed or enlarged, in the time of the unchecked dominion of the waters over the land. The Marcellus flood of 1218, and the inundations of 1248, 1267, 1287-1290 were long remembered in Holland, and their effects are still visible in the fantastic, varying forms of the islands of Zealand and South Holland, in the extensive shoals on the northern coast, in the Zuyder Zee, and in the low lands of Flanders.

Many parts of the Netherlands must have looked quite different in earlier centuries. Imagine removed the chief polders and dikes in Friesland, North and South Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht, or look at the map of Holland's northern section in the thirteenth century, and you will get data to judge of the condition then and

earlier. This earlier condition is especially notable, because it was just in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that the dikes and the regulation of the outflow of the water were zealously taken in hand. In various sections of the country, these dikes and drainings have actually created the solid ground. What was once water has become land. Ancient beds of rivers were filled up or moved; new courses for the water were dug; islands were joined to the mainland; rivers and ponds vanished from the map. In the land thus formed, ditches and canals were dug for trade and communication; for a part of some of them, the bed of an ancient obstructed river was used. How often the old conditions of the ground must have given place to entirely new ones! The part played in Dutch history by the dikes appears long before the twelfth century. Not to mention here the works of the Romans, many districts still possess traditions concerning very early dikes and reclamations of land by the inmates of the old convents, and although documents and records are generally lacking, a consideration of the nature of the ground itself furnishes satisfactory evidence. Dikes were here since Roman times, though often they were not strong enough to hold against sea or river. Names of places, the very fact that many districts were inhabited which without dikes would certainly have been uninhabitable, afford the proof. The emigrants of the twelfth century were very active in diking morasses, which they found in their new fatherland, and against which they had learned in the old one what measures to adopt. From the most ancient Frisian chronicles, it appears that the Premonstratensians, settled here from the latter half of the twelfth century, obtained great credit in the struggle with the water. The circumstance that the land reclaimed from the rivers in the bishopric of Utrecht was almost everywhere in the clergy's hands, put this work very much in charge of the church. But laymen

also took zealous hold of it, and the documents and records of the thirteenth century give many a proof of it, as well as of their activity in earlier times.

Everywhere in the Netherlands, were created governing bodies for the drained marshes and waters, either by mutual agreement of the landowners, or upon the initiative of a prince or wealthy landed proprietor. The thirteenth century saw many such institutions developed, and is therefore important in the history of the Dutch people, who, in the never ending fight against the water, have shown an energy and perseverance that have excited the admiration of natives and foreigners. The country people, above all, have had a hard struggle in this respect; a struggle for existence, which finally began to weary many and drive them to emigration; which has cost thousands and thousands of human lives, lost in the floods that with irresistible force were ever destroying the work of man; a struggle that has put thousands of others—stronger, more persevering, or more fortunate—in a position to win from the fertile clay-ground the fruits of their diligent labour. Thus the peasant lived in the clay-lands. The peasant of the more elevated regions, although often troubled, too, by the neighbouring rivers, had an easier life, but, all things considered, it appears that the absence of the difficulties of the low-lying districts could not make up for that of the greater prosperity which the fertile clay-soil was able to bestow upon the Frisian, Hollandish, Utrecht, and Flemish farmer. While great woods began more and more to disappear from the lower regions, many a district in the sand remained a wilderness, as the Veluwe might still be called in the fourteenth century, as the wild Ardennes were much later—excellent hunting-grounds, but not farming land. No important changes seem to have come at this time in agriculture, either from better implements, or from other ways of cultivation, or from the introduction of new products.

Although his lot was considerably improved, the peasant continued, unless prompted from without, as in the days of Charlemagne, to follow slavishly the customs of his forefathers.

Now that the peasant regarded the ground he cultivated more as his own property, now that he no longer had to fear, as in former years, the arbitrary will of his lord or the lord's officials, a favourable influence must have been exerted upon his activity, and agriculture must have been prosecuted more vigorously than before. Here and there, traces are to be discovered of this increased activity: the land is more thoroughly distributed, the value of the ground is considerably enhanced. Remarkable in this connection is the action of Count Otto of Guelders, who, before the middle of the thirteenth century, had the Betuwe surveyed again and divided into farms, indicating progress in the cutting up of land in this exceptionally fertile region. But still, despite his greater prosperity, the countryman remained, in comparison with the other orders—although, according to the poet Maerlant, God made “of the earth all this humanity worthy of honour,” although the poet complained that the nobleman had everything, and that he contemptuously said to the rustic: “Fie! Go away! God curse you! You are a shame to the world!”—still the countryman remained, in comparison with the three other orders, a man of lower standing. He had to seek protection of the prince, both against the arrogant and avaricious nobility, against the no less selfish clergy, and against the inhabitants of the cities, proceeding but a short time before from his own order. Not until much later, was the peasant to think himself the equal of the townsman.

Thus, in the thirteenth century, the numberless groups of the inhabitants of the country resolved themselves, by the elevation of some unfavourably situated and by the

debasement of others formerly better off, into one order, that of the peasants, or villagers. There still continued to be slight differences in their condition; one was more free than another; one bore the traces of slavery's chains somewhat longer than another—yet one thing the whole order had in common: the necessity of working on the land which they inhabited. They lived there, these “churls,” in their huts offering little comfort, mostly built of wood or mud, and thatched with rushes or sods.

“ They wear a long and unkempt beard,
Their clothes, they are full oft all torn,
A hat on head is ever small,
The hood askew doth look forlorn,
Their shoes and stockings patch'd are all.
For food, curds, whey, poor cheese and bread,
That has he through the livelong day.
Thus is the fellow fool in head :
He eats so much more than he may.”

Thus runs the satire upon the “churls” of a somewhat later date. Soon the peasant of Flanders was to pay off the knight for this ridicule, bloodily to pay him off, and to take vengeance for this earlier contempt.





CHAPTER XIV

THE RISE OF THE CITIES IN THE NETHERLANDS

SINCE the revival of historical studies in Germany early in our century, the question of the origin of the cities has occupied many a historian. The development of the German cities was derived from the privileges granted by the Ottos, in the tenth century, to certain places. Some writers have claimed that municipal institutions proceeded from the right of holding court that prevailed in the earlier villages. Others considered the powerful guilds of the merchants as either forming the foundation of the cities or exercising a preponderating influence upon their development. Von Maurer called attention to the reasons for basing the origin of the cities upon the rural communities, an idea that very lately has again been put forward by Von Below. Others ascribed the origin of the oldest cities to the ancient Roman fortresses. Some noted the great importance of the bishops' cities for the solution of the question.

Whence all these and other varying opinions? On one hand, many of these theories may perhaps be explained by the dangerous inclination to assume, so far as possible, a fundamental principle for composite social conditions; on the other, by the no less dangerous method in investigations of using too few and too one-sided data, and of laying particular stress upon one species of development. Without doubt, it is true that, in the development of

many cities of later times, their earlier condition as rural communities or marks had a great influence on the old form of government. But this is not saying that the origin of all the later boards and officers of the more developed municipal government is to be sought in this earlier condition. Equally indisputable is the fact that the holding of markets must be regarded as one of the strongest factors in the rise of cities, and that many an attribute of the municipal governing boards, many a peculiarity of cities, must be derived from the market law. No less certain is it that the merchants played a prominent part in almost every city of importance in the early days, and that their guilds often put their stamp on the city government. But between the recognition of these facts, and the explanation of the development of cities exclusively from one of these principles, there is a great difference. Indeed, what the *Sachsenspiegel* says of the "manifold law of serving-people," is also to be said of the law of cities, of municipal institutions, of the inhabitants of the cities and their descent, of the origin of the cities themselves.

Cities may originate in all sorts of ways. There are some, perhaps, which go back to Roman times, and have seen not only names but also institutions continued down through many later centuries. There are some, where these ancient Roman names and customs have become entirely lost, where privileges of the merchants' guild have supplied the foundations for new development. There are some which originated as centres of trade and markets and have never lost the remembrance of this origin. There are some which were born out of the fortification of a palace, of a monastery, out of the dwellings clustered for safety around ancient castles. There are some which owe their peculiarities solely to the will of a ruler, or to mutual agreements between a number of inhabitants. There are some which merely adopted

institutions from neighbouring or remote places, and thus have quite a different origin from what would be supposed by considering these institutions. There are some that sprang from one rural community, but there are some also that were formed by the union of several such communities. Hence, all these differences in the arrangement and development of the mediæval cities are new proofs of the inexhaustible riches of mediæval life, of the infinite variety in the society of that time, deviating so much from the greater monotony of our epoch. The endeavour to find one form for the mediæval cities is a mistake against the very nature of the Middle Ages.

Whoever asks the question: How did the cities of that time arise? should first make clear to himself what he understands by a city. A *portus*, *oppidum*, *civitas*, of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries is not the same as a city or commune of the thirteenth century. And, again, this city is not quite the same as the municipality. Now, we have too slight data to be able to speak, with a knowledge of the subject, of the cities anterior to the twelfth century. It will be well, therefore, for us here to confine ourselves to those of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. And then we see that, in those centuries, a place is not regarded as a city until it has received a charter or statutes from the sovereign of the country or its local lord—in the latter case with or without the sovereign's approval. These charters are the criterion of a city in the Netherlands, judged by the standard of the times. Sometimes they are confirmed by the sovereign in a document immediately on the establishment of a city, sometimes this document is not solemnly proclaimed until much later, but the fact of the possession of a special charter is sufficient to secure the recognition of the place as a city. The statutes and charters are extorted or voluntarily granted; they are of ample or limited extent;

they convert the city into a true republic or merely bestow a few rights upon it. If particular attention be given to these conditions, two kinds of progress in the development of cities are plainly perceived in the Netherlands: one which came from Northern Italy, continued to the north-west over Northern France into Flanders, Hainaut, Luxemburg, Brabant, Limburg, Liege, Zealand, and Holland, later into the Frisian districts; another passing north from Italy along the Rhine into Guelders, Friesland, and Utrecht. In the former direction we find, in Northern France, the communes and cities of the Franco-Flemish pattern, chiefly imitated in the Southern Netherlands; at the end of the latter direction, the cities with the peculiar German municipal character. The two elements of the later Netherlandish civilisation stand, here as elsewhere, in distinct opposition to one another.

The free population of the cities of this time is of four kinds: soldiers, landowners, merchants, and workingmen. The first are found principally in the fortresses built by the lords of the land; they are, as a rule, in the lord's service, and have a privileged position in the city. Next to them are the great landowners, who from the city manage their land in the vicinity and rejoice in the security of person and property which the city confers upon them. In the eleventh century, we find, in many places of Northern France and North-western Germany, unions of merchants for mutual protection, here and there, under the name of guild, as at Cambrai, of *charitas*, as at Arras, Douay, and Valenciennes, of *amicitia*, as at Lille. Guild signifies, originally, whatever is given in payment or recompense; hence, money given in payment, a forfeit serving as a recompense, a sacrifice, or what is presented to the gods. From the signification "sacrifice" is developed that of the place or the association, by which the sacrifice is offered. Thus we find it in the Gothic and Anglo-Saxon as sacrifice, in the Frankish laws of the

time of Charlemagne—at first in the form of *geldonia* or *gildonia*—for *confratria*, fraternity, union, association. These associations are not specially Germanic. We find them, under other names, among the Greeks and Romans as associations of a religious or secular character, proceeding from the universal human need of the union of men of like opinions and circumstances for the purpose of promoting their common interests. Christianity, inspired by a spirit of brotherhood, furthered this union very much and ennobled its meaning for society. Among the people of England, France, and Germany converted to Christianity, we meet with numerous associations of this kind for mutual aid and with an ecclesiastical character—among the Anglo-Saxons perhaps as early as the seventh, certainly in the tenth century, with a political tendency. But in the Netherlands, this was not the case. Not until the end of the Northmen's expeditions had restored security to the shores of the North Sea, and commerce had risen again in various places, do we see, from the eleventh century, guilds of merchants, *gildæ mercatorie*, originating in such cities. These were also called "hanses," from *hansa*, an association. From the necessity of mutual protection in those days, when the travelling merchants found the ways precarious and their wares in danger, associations were founded. These were of a partly religious character, which was expressed in common religious worship, the possession of a common altar and a common chapel in the church, but, for the rest, they had a definite worldly aim. They had a common treasury, managed by self-elected aldermen; common rights, usually obtained from the lord of the land by pecuniary sacrifices; fixed festivals, as on the day of the saint to whom the guild was consecrated.

They formed in almost every place of importance, within the *oppidum*, villa, or whatever the name might be, a close corporation, around which were grouped the

other inhabitants, especially the workingmen—sometimes distributed into other guilds. They were not the actual city, but only a group, the most wealthy and powerful group in the city, which, in its whole, was dependent upon one or more feudal lords. A good example of such a condition is furnished by Dinant, of which we possess an interesting municipal document of the eleventh century. A part of the city belonged to the bishop of Liege; another to the count of Namur as domain; in a third part, the same count was secular governor of the estates of several abbeys; there was a fourth part, where the count in the eyes of the free population was still only the representative of the king, of the public authority, from which authority only the immunities of the spiritual lord were withdrawn in the whole territory of the city. As the count was also the governor, *i. e.*, the representative, in temporal affairs, of the abbeys, only the bishop's territory could consider itself as free from his influence. He was the judge before whose bench the citizens not subject to the bishop had to appear three times in the year on the *placita*, the court-days of old. He managed the common lands of the city. He commissioned his officials to exercise his rights, chief among them the *ministerialis comitis*, who was elsewhere called *villicus*, bailiff, and his associates. They collected the count's revenues from the tolls, markets, mintage. By virtue of the market law, one thing and another was paid to him—partly money, partly produce—for the weighing of metals, the sale of wine at retail, the displaying of bread for sale, the erection of booths in the market-place, the brewing of beer, etc. By virtue of the market law, also, a man on horseback with a lance lying across the saddle rode every year from one end of the city to the other: whatever impeded his course had to be redeemed or broken off. In the Liege part, the bishop had his own governor, his representative among the *familia episcopalis*, which consisted of

people paying tribute, but about whose relation to the bishop little else is known. Of the two lords, who were too close together to avoid fighting, the ecclesiastical one finally kept the field. In 1070, the bishop obtained from the emperor the countship also of Dinant. His governor now took the place of the count's officer. Before the end of the century, the bishop again alienated some of his rights and revenues by giving them in fief or transferring them to churches and to temporal lords, but he remained lord of the city, even when it was governed as a burgraveship by the great Liege family of Duras.

Such were the conditions sooner or later prevailing in most of the cities of the Netherlands. Some of these cities possessed, at an early date, important privileges, either concerning the inhabitants' rights of inheritance, the administration of justice, the use of the surrounding lands, woods, or waters, or concerning military service, taxation, etc. Such a privileged place bore the name of *villa franca*, free city, *libera civitas*. This name, or rights connected with it, we find, about 1070, at St. Omer, Ardres, and Gramsbergen, later at Huy, Liege, Dinant, and probably also in many other places of the South. Utrecht and Muiden obtained rights under Bishop Godebald and saw them confirmed, in 1122, by Emperor Henry V. Stavoren possessed them as early as 1060, thanks to the liberality of Count Egbert of Meissen and Emperor Henry IV., whose son, Henry V., confirmed them in 1118. Zutphen received, in 1190, the same freedom "which a free city enjoys from this side of the mountains [the Alps] to the sea." Everywhere these free cities were seen in process of development. On the lower Rhine and the Meuse, Cologne and Aix-la-Chapelle were probably taken for models. The former city, apparently, owed its great privileges to the archbishops of the eleventh century and to Henry IV.; the latter to Frederick Barbarossa, who extended its ancient rights in 1166. Regarding many

later cities, which in the thirteenth century were in possession of the rights of freedom, it is probable that their old documents have been lost, but that as early as the twelfth century they were enjoying these rights. This is true of Maestricht and Nimwegen, Deventer and Groningen, Brussels, Louvain, and Antwerp, Quesnoy, Bouchain, and Mons, as well as of the great Flemish cities. Of some others, there are plain proofs that, at the end of the twelfth century, they were in possession of such rights. A "free city" of the twelfth century is usually characterised, first, by its own administration of justice, differing from that of the surrounding villages and lands. This difference perhaps finds its origin in the fact that, in a market-place, certain rules must be made for the preservation of peace, for the safety of the visitors to the market, and for the regular course of trade. Further, it has its own government, of which the magistrates are elected either by the prince from the citizens, or by the citizens themselves, with or without the coöperation of the lord of the land, in any case under some conditions in favour of the citizens. The free city, moreover, obtains special stipulations concerning justice, chief of which is exemption of the citizens from the judicial duel. Finally, it enjoys some privileges with regard to taxes, which cannot be imposed upon it against its will; with regard to the tolls in the lord's territory, and to the weekly and yearly markets that may be held there.

But these free cities could not yet be called communities. What was understood by this word? *Communiæ*, as they are found in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Northern France, are really confederacies, formed by the inhabitants of a place, safeguarded by the mutual taking of an oath, and contrived for the purpose of restraining the arbitrary rule of the feudal lords. They arose from the necessity of mutual protection against these lords, whose power they endeavoured to diminish

by binding them to fixed conditions. They form independent members of feudal society, in which they stand, with equal right, next and in opposition to the lords. They make their position more assured by stating their rights in a charter, which naturally bears considerable resemblance to the letters of privileges of the free cities, but goes much farther. In the reigns of Philip I. and Louis VI. and VII. of France, in the latter half of the eleventh century and the first half of the twelfth century, such movements sprang up among the population in the towns of Northern France, probably emanating from the Lombard cities and creeping along the Rhone and Loire to more northern latitudes. The citizens who had prospered by commerce and industry protested against the oppressive dominion of feudalism, more oppressive here than anywhere else in Europe. It vexed them to be exposed to the caprice of the lords. The revolution rapidly spread: what succeeded here, incited the people there to rebel against their lords. The royal power, wavering in presence of this strong movement, the consequences of which were only dimly evident, took an uncertain attitude, now favouring the population of the cities, then going over to the party of the nobility and clergy. Philip Augustus (1180-1223) first promoted vigorously the development of the communes in France, clearly perceiving that they might be a powerful weapon in the king's hand against the threatening and growing might of the feudal lords.

The foundation of a commune was thus the *conjuratio*, also called *conspiratio*, or *confederatio*, of the citizens. Men swore to help one another as much as possible, threw off the feudal yoke together, and forced the lord to sign or actually recognise the communal charter, in which was settled the relation between city and lord. The charter first confirmed and regulated the rise of the municipality. This important document was therefore regarded

by the people with great reverence and treasured like gold; to the enemy, on the other hand, it was something to be desired. Only a very few communal charters of the twelfth century have come down to us in the original. They were often extended or improved by later amendments; occasionally, they were destroyed by the prince; sometimes, also, they may have become illegible by age and much use and have been renewed. Examples of all these cases might be named. Usually, nothing but the later translations into the vernacular are to be found of the original Latin document.

The substance of these charters was naturally very different. Every city, in this respect, had its own physiognomy. Some charters are very ample, others short; some let us plainly see how the city was organised, others speak only in general terms; some make us acquainted with whole chapters from the ancient laws, others merely with the amounts of the fines; some are intentionally obscure, others purposely descend to trifles; above all, the legal relations of the citizens among themselves and to the lord, the financial advantages accruing to the lord, are generally treated of in the charters with the greatest care.

Everywhere the sheriff, bailiff, justiciary, or whatever the lord's representative may be called, is specifically limited to the administration of justice: his rights of governing are taken from him; in military matters, he is still the commander of the community's troops; as for the rest, he is only the man who brings the lord's orders. His authority signifies little more. The community—all of the citizens who had taken the oath, not all of the inhabitants—elected its own government, its own magistrate. But it was not a universal practice for all citizens to take part in this election: there are good reasons for supposing that almost always either a few families alone or, at the most, the wealthier citizens (in Brabant chiefly merchants) possessed the right of electing magistrates. This varied

from one city to another as well as the power itself of these magistrates. The principal thing was that the lord had nothing to do with the election. These magistrates were usually called aldermen, and they still held office for life at the beginning of the twelfth century; their number was, as a rule, seven; at their head stood the already mentioned sheriff or bailiff with but little power. Next to them we find almost everywhere, in the twelfth century, "sworn men," councillors, chosen by the aldermen or under their influence by the other citizens, an annex, consequently, to their board, associates of the aldermen, sometimes under the lead of the burgomasters, who had the superintendence of the finances.

The government had charge of justice, police, the civil and military administration, the financial management—of everything at once; from the end of the twelfth century, commissions to coöperate in financial affairs were summoned from the citizens. In the middle of the thirteenth century, there is some division in the government of the Flemish, Brabant, and Liege districts. This is first evident in Liege. We see the aldermen gradually limited to the administration of justice; the burgomasters and councillors, on the other hand, have the direction of the finances, presently deliberating as a separate body, and soon appearing in other departments of the government: the care of the fortifications, police, etc. This great change is of course an important improvement: the different sides of the government are thenceforth better kept in view. The government has the right of making statutes for the community, embracing the ordinances for its territory, in accordance with the old customs or the powers conferred by the charter. The government maintains law and order; its court of justice is the highest for the inhabitants in general, the only one before which the citizen can be summoned. There is very little evidence, before the second half of the thirteenth century, of gen-

eral meetings of the whole body of citizens, but persons formerly connected with the administration appear as advisers of the government.

The variety already noted is also to be observed in the way in which the community serves the lord in war. The fact of the obligation is not denied in general, but it is limited in various manners: by making conditions, under which alone it is necessary to march; by requiring that the lord or his son should command; by fixing the bounds, beyond which there can be no call to serve; by restricting the duration of a campaign, sometimes to a single day. The sheriff leads the armed population to war as soon as the soldiers have been called out by the lord. The defence of the municipality is left to itself. It has the right of war against anyone hostile to it or insulting its citizens. Free in its government, justice, and military organisation, the community was free, too, in its financial management. Its ordinary revenue was that obtained from the granting of the citizen's right; from the poll-tax of the inhabitants, so far as they were not exempt as nobility or clergy; lastly from the direct and indirect rights that formerly belonged to the lord: the right of fishing in the canals, the gate-money, the tolls, the market right with all its emanations, the fines, the payment for the statutes of the guilds, the excise, etc. It is true that some of these rights were only gradually wrested from the lords in the course of the fourteenth century, the excise especially with much difficulty, besides the revenue from the common lands of the city and these lands themselves. Thus the municipalities formed independent bodies in the feudal state. The community stood in relation to the lord on an equal footing with his feudatories; it was in fact a feudatory of the lord of the land. Its vassalage was supported by its magistrates as the representatives of all the citizens. It has its own seal, carefully preserved; its own prison; its own belfry, the bell

of which calls to arms in insurrection or war; its own city hall, usually in the same building with the prison or belfry. In a word, the community is a society of itself, governing itself, an "immunity," a state within the state.

The *villa franca*, the free city, on the other hand, has only taken the first steps in this direction; it is dependent on the lord much more than the community, but, in imitation of the latter, it is soon regarded more or less as a feudatory, and acts as such. A number of communes were temporarily suppressed by the lord in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Then they drop immediately to the rank of free cities; the power of the lord is strengthened there.

From Northern France, the communal movement speedily penetrated into the southern provinces of the Netherlands. In Cambrai, there was a violent uprising against the bishop in 1076. The latter indeed restored his authority, but after his death the citizens rose again, taking advantage of dissensions among the clergy over the election of a new bishop. They managed to extort from the one elected, Archdeacon Walcher of Brabant, the authorisation to establish a commune, the first in these regions and noted in the twelfth century for its great rights, almost a century before the neighbouring Tournay obtained like privileges from King Philip Augustus. Namur secured the same permission in 1121. Valenciennes soon possessed also a very liberal charter. The larger Flemish cities probably sprang up as market-places for the surrounding country, their situation specially adapting them for this; they were under the protection of the counts' castles, and joined to them as suburbs; and they flourished early in the eleventh century by their commerce and industry. They were very restless in that century, and repeatedly revolted against the authority of the counts, especially in the days of Robert the Frisian. Under Count Charles the Good (1119-1127), the disturb-

ances in Flanders were renewed in consequence of his disputes with some members of the lower nobility, whom he had angered by his strict ideas concerning the right to nobility. After this count's horrible murder, there was actual anarchy in the countship owing to the uncertainty of the succession to the throne. Bruges and other places bound themselves by solemn oaths to recognise only that prince who would rule the country well, that is, in accordance with their will. St. Omer obtained at this time a communal charter. Bruges, Ghent, Ypres, Lille, saw their rights much extended by Count William of Normandy: tolls and land taxes were abolished, and the right of amending local laws was granted to these cities. Then, under their burggraves, they took a prominent part in the dissensions concerning the throne, which ended with the elevation of Count Dirk of Alsace.

This prince showed slight inclination to promote the power of the municipalities. We possess a document of the year 1150, containing a treaty between this count of Flanders and the bishop of Therouanne, in which mention is made of the rights to tolls, etc., that were diminished by the citizen communities and the "liberties, which they had appropriated to themselves." His powerful successor, Count Philip of Alsace, likewise held the municipalities in check and sought to restrict their freedom. He founded a number of cities with harbours, and conferred privileges and liberties upon them, but otherwise left them little freedom of action. Thus arose the "free cities" of Biervliet, Hulst, Nieuwpoort, Sluis, Dunkirk, Aardenburg, Axel, Damme, Gravelines. Under him, the commerce of Flanders flourished as never before, and he furthered this development by clearing waste lands and granting exemption from tolls. While, by these excellent measures, the cities grew more prosperous, the powerful count succeeded in quelling every impulse to revolt against his authority and in compel-

ling his subjects to obedience. His reign is therefore regarded as a time of standstill in the development of the Flemish municipalities. Most of these cities were devoid of the chief communal characteristics; they were, in fact as well as in name, "free cities" rather than communities, although they adopted many institutions from the latter, and very much resembled them. How great their splendour already was is evident from the recital of Wilhelmus Brito in his *Philippis*. He describes at length "the community of the people of Ghent, proud of their towering houses, their treasures, and the number of their population," which sent twenty thousand (?) armed men hastening to the help of King Philip Augustus in 1184; the proud Ypres too, the inhabitants of which "are experienced in the dyeing of wool"; Arras, "the ancient city of the Atrebatians, full of wealth, eager after gain and profit"; Bruges, which "with many thousands came to his help," the fortress, "which encases the legs of the great with small clothes, rich itself from its crops and surrounding meadows and the neighbouring harbour"; Damme, "the hurtful city, which will do great damage to the [French] ships"; Lille, "the pleasant city with its population covetous of gain, which, vain of its great merchants, supplies dyed cloth to foreign lands, whence the shillings are brought back that make it proud"; Gravelines and Douay, "rich, great places, full of renowned citizens." He praises the Flemings as

"a people, who have an abundance of all sorts of things, but injure themselves by domestic dissensions, moderate in eating and drinking, liberal in expenditure, fond of fine clothes, handsome and robust of body, with splendid hair, fair skin and tanned face, whose land is full of waters rich in fish, numerous streams and canals dangerous to the enemy, which make it safe there, if there be no civil war; full also of fields rich in grain, by which the commerce of the sea flourishes, of cattle

giving butter and milk, with few woods and in general no wine, in place of which a beer prepared from oats serves the natives for drink after their work."

After Philip's death, Flanders counted more than forty cities, most of which might, with more or less reason, be called municipalities. Ghent, Bruges, Lille, Douay, and Ypres were certainly the most important. Their laws were adopted in the smaller places of their neighbourhood. Brabant could then show not over twelve cities; Hainaut, seven; Liege, five or six, which were of much less importance. In the North at the end of the twelfth century, there were only Zutphen and Nimwegen in Guelders; Stavoren in Friesland; Utrecht, Muiden, Deventer, and Groningen in the bishopric of Utrecht, as the scattered evidences of a similar development.

The municipal life of Flanders became more strongly organised in the thirteenth century, especially in the time of the French wars. Although the statements concerning a hundred thousand and more inhabitants attributed by the chroniclers to some cities—Ghent and Bruges particularly—belong to the exaggerations of which old writers are guilty whenever figures are involved, the Flemish cities were, unquestionably, so powerful at the end of the thirteenth century that Count Guy was virtually dependent upon them. With the magistrates of the five great communities, he deliberates over important matters; their aldermen form, as early as about 1240, as "aldermen of Flanders," a supreme court for the countship; they negotiate, on their own authority, with foreign cities and lords. In short, they really form small republics within the state. In the thirteenth century, the character of these municipalities changes also in another respect. Originally, their form of government was aristocratic, headed by the descendants of the old landowners and merchants, the former sometimes of

knightly birth, the independent gentlemen. They are the great citizens, the men of family, the *viri hereditati*, as they are sometimes called. They form a more or less close oligarchy which, by selection and by holding office for life, succeeds in maintaining its influence and governing the city chiefly for its own advantage.

The great mass of the inhabitants now begins to oppose this, at first the wealthy families not included among these personages, soon also the tradesmen, the guilds. Besides the guilds of merchants, there existed in the cities, at an early period, unions of the workers at the same trade: of bakers, butchers, shoemakers, leather-workers, smiths, metal-workers, etc. They, too, had their meetings, their church festivals and chapels, their guild government, their common interests. With the extraordinary increase of Flemish industry, especially of the cloth and wool industry, of brewing, etc., the number of the workmen, likewise, had very much increased and in the thirteenth century they form the great mass of the population, the strength of the Flemish municipalities. They are found there divided into a number of guilds, each with its own rights and restrictions and under its own government: spinners, fullers, dyers, weavers, fishers, sea-captains, butchers, bakers, smiths, etc. They have their own authorities or deacons, their own halls or guild-houses, altars, and chapels, later even their own churches. So far as concerns the election of their governors, they stand, here more, there less, under the control of the municipal authorities. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, the selection of the masters was probably everywhere reserved for the city governments; the guild charters or rolls, in which their rights, regulations, and rules concerning work, were recorded, proceeded from the municipal authorities and had to be approved by them. The most numerous were the industrial guilds, those of the weavers, fullers, brewers, etc.; the most

eminent, almost everywhere in the Netherlands, were the cloth-merchants.

The brethren of the guilds now became conscious of their strength and importance in the communities. They demanded influence in the government. The citizens endeavoured as long as possible to resist this demand and to bind the guilds by increasingly stringent limitations. Different communities allied themselves with one another under the influence of families, often related, in order to put down the claims of the weavers and wool-workers. Thus, in 1274, Ghent united with the Brabant cities and Huy. But the guilds made a stand. Severe disturbances arose in 1280 and 1281 at Bruges, then the seat of the world's commerce, and at Ypres, a great centre for the manufacture of cloth. The guild brethren demanded, first of all, a better financial management of the community, and then, a share in the election of the government. But they were subjugated with the count's help after a bloody resistance. The suppression of the *Moerlemaye* of Bruges and of the *Cokerulle* of Ypres, as these insurrections were called, resulted more advantageously to Count Guy than to the great families, he making use of the opportunity to subject the aldermen of the municipalities more to his supervision. For this end, he protected the citizens against the turbulent workingmen. Thus it happened at the same time in Ghent, that the thirty-nine members of the body of citizens who, from 1228, had the government in their hands, were likewise obliged to put up with restrictions in favour of the count's authority in order, thereby, to rescue their own rule. The count did not stop there. His intervention had not taken place either for the sake of the workingmen or for the sake of the great families, but only for the purpose of increasing his own power, and soon the oppression of the lower classes by the municipal governments began again, together with the opposition of the old families to the en-

larged authority of the count. Philip the Fair of France was able to make dexterous use of this state of affairs. He promised the citizens his support against the count, entered everywhere into relations with them, and thus it came to pass that he, with their aid, became the master in Flanders. The help given the king was rewarded by the restoration and strengthening of the old aristocratic forms of government. On the other hand, the Flemish artisans now ranged themselves on Count Guy's side. They became the defenders of the count, of Flemish freedom, against the assaults and wiles of the king of France. While the old families, the Flemish nobility in general, appeared as *Leliaerts*, the Flemish workingmen were the *Clauwaerts*, who made the French feel their strength. The struggle thus kindled, of Flanders against the French ruler, was at once a social struggle and a war of independence, a civil and a national war.

In Liege, a development not entirely analogous had been experienced. The cities of Liege flourished, for the greater part, as commercial and manufacturing places; St. Trond, probably, through the convent located there; Liege itself was, moreover, the seat of the bishop. Here also, it was the wealthy members of the guild of merchants, the great landowners in the city, that constituted the ruling class and secured the right of having the aldermen selected from themselves. In the bishopric of Liege, however, the great difference is observed, that the aldermen, usually seven in number (in the cities of Liege and St. Trond, fourteen), were appointed for life by the bishop, took the oath of allegiance to him, and did not cease to be the bishop's officers. The burgo-master, here the president of the aldermen, was, likewise, an officer of the bishop, empowered by him to call the aldermen together and to execute their decrees. In Liege, the cities were not early furnished with their own municipal laws, as was the case in Flanders; for

a long time, they possessed simply the common law of the land. Not until after the death of Albert of Louvain in 1192, when a period of anarchy prevailed in the bishopric during the contest over the succession to the bishop's dignity, did the Liege cities, Liege, Huy, and Dinant, gradually acquire greater freedom, like the Flemish cities seventy years earlier under similar circumstances. Liege obtained from the victor, Bishop Albert of Kuik (consequently before 1200), a charter, in which the citizens were exempted from the poll tax, from military service (except in case an enemy attacked the diocese), from the ordeal of God and the judicial duel; in which, further, the ecclesiastical law was circumscribed, and the citizens were allowed to appear only before the bench of the aldermen; in which, probably, some influence in the government was bestowed upon sworn men, elected by the citizens without the bishop's coöperation. What happened at Liege was duplicated at Dinant, Huy, Maestricht, St. Trond. By this last board especially, that of the sworn men, these cities raised themselves more or less nearly to the rank of the great Flemish cities. From this time, there was mention of Liege municipalities, particularly about 1230, when the imperial princes supported the bishop in his efforts to deprive his subjects of their liberties. Under the noted Henry of Guelders, in 1254 and 1255, the Liege communities rose in defence of their rights. They were, indeed, defeated, but the sworn men—the representatives of the citizens in the city government—remained; in 1288, the bishop even consented to grant a municipal charter to St. Trond. The distinction between judges and actual governors may be noted here quite early. Here, also, in the second half of the thirteenth century, the guilds rise against the old families. The latter sought help from their neighbour, the duke of Brabant, as their Flemish brethren did from the French king; they formed an alliance with the families in the Brabant and Flemish

cities threatened by the same movement. On the other hand, the lord of the land is found joining the working-men, particularly against the twelve powerful families of Liege. But the metal-workers and the brewers and weavers of the Meuse cities were later to take the same attitude as their Flemish brethren, and were to share in the victory and defeat of the latter.

While municipalities appeared considerably later and less strong in Liege than in Flanders, in Brabant there is found a certain repetition of Flemish conditions. Antwerp was eminent above her neighbours as a commercial place on the Scheldt; Brussels and Louvain were prominent as the seats of counts and dukes; Mechlin and Leau probably as market-places.

Louvain and Antwerp especially were favourably situated on the great pathway of commerce between the Rhine and the Scheldt. There, families dependent upon the duke are found—sometimes a few exclusively—eligible for aldermen. In Brabant, the governing personages are less merchants and manufacturers than landowners, perhaps former merchants and manufacturers who had become rich, as well at Brussels as at Louvain, Mechlin, Leau, and Antwerp. The power of the families is greater there than in Liege: the seven of Brussels and the seven of Louvain succeed in making the office of alderman their hereditary possession. In Louvain, the members of "St. Peter's family," that is the old officers of St. Peter's church, have the upper hand. Everywhere, the office of alderman is conferred with the approval of or directly by the duke, indeed in the smaller cities he regularly appoints the aldermen without the coöperation of the citizens. In general, the dukes of the thirteenth century were here powerful enough to hold the municipal movement in check, and, although some municipal privileges are recognised here also, the Brabant cities are, in power and consideration, not to be compared with the great Flemish

cities. Duke Henry I. is the prince who did much for the development of municipal institutions in Brabant: Vilvoorden, Louvain, Brussels, Wavre, Jaucourt, are indebted to him for municipal privileges from end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century. The guilds, likewise, were much less powerful than in the great Flemish manufacturing cities. But they made their influence felt. Sometimes dissensions arose between the ruling families, and then the guilds played a part, but, on the whole, the patricians remained the masters. In 1249, the Brabant cities united against the guilds, the nucleus of an extensive alliance, which Ghent and Huy also joined. The treaty excluded every workingman guilty of sedition from these cities and seems, for a time, actually to have attained its purpose, the repression of the guilds.

The Flemish municipalities, indeed, present a more pronounced character of self-government than those of any other part of South or North. They are the only municipalities here in the sense this word had in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. Their spacious halls, their lofty belfries have no equals in the other Netherlandish provinces, as well as their powerful citizens themselves; not in Brabant, not in Liege, still less in Hainaut, Namur, Luxemburg, Loon, or Limburg. The Liege law went over to Hasselt (1232) in Loon; Limburg and Herve became cities about 1280; Luxemburg in 1243 became a city; Echternach in 1236. In Namur, municipal establishments are found early in the thirteenth century, in which, as a rule, the laws of the capital served for a model, as did those of Cambrai in the bishopric of that name. But here and in Hainaut, where most of the cities were founded by lords, they were, with few exceptions, of slight importance. In Hainaut, however, a somewhat prominent part was taken, from the twelfth century, by Valenciennes, Mons, and Quesnoy, particularly by Valenciennes,

which early possessed privileges corresponding to those of the great cities of Flanders and Artois. The rise of these older Hainaut cities must be explained from the close connection of the countship with Flanders. Valenciennes, for example, owes its oldest guild regulations to Baldwin and Richildis (about 1060), its oldest municipal law (1114) to Count Baldwin III. of the Flemish dynasty. Remarkable is the struggle of Valenciennes—from 1290 to 1297—against Count John II. of Hainaut, who saw the oligarchy existing there exercise an oppressive dominion over the less wealthy classes, and with the abolition of this oppression hoped at the same time to increase his own power over the city. The citizens looked for aid to Guy of Flanders, their count's old enemy, while the French king also took part in the affair. After a hard fight for seven years, the count had to yield and recognise the old rights of the citizens, but the flourishing condition of the city was past; the long war had finally ruined its prosperity.

In the North, likewise, the communal movement made itself felt. In Holland and Zeeland, the thirteenth century is rich in municipal charters. The cities here owe their rise either to an important toll fixed in them, as at Dordrecht; or to their adaptability for a market-place, as Alkmaar and Middelburg; sometimes to the castle of a count, as Leyden, Haarlem, and Delft; or to their situation on a river suitable for commerce or fishing, as Vlaardingen and Rotterdam. We first see the movement, in connection with what had occurred in Flanders and Brabant in the preceding century, show itself notably in the South and chiefly in Zeeland, which, from the beginning of the eleventh century closely attached to Flanders, was ruled in common with this countship in the time of Count William I. There Middelburg obtained, in 1217, from the Flemish Countess Johanna and the Holland Count William I. together, a sort of charter analogous to those

of the small Flemish cities. West Kapelle and Domburg followed after the same model six years later, and so too did Zierikzee. The Flemish counts, however, only recognised Middelburg as a villa—"which of old was a free villa." Of much less importance were the privileges in Holland itself, conferred in 1213 on Geertruidenberg, in 1220 on Dordrecht. Not until the time of William II., does real progress in this direction begin in Holland: Haarlem, Delft, Leyden, 's Gravesande, Alkmaar, obtain municipal charters. Under Floris V., Dordrecht in particular made an advance from the recognition of greater privileges, but the fact that this city—the most considerable in Holland—only secured in 1271 the right to dig a ditch for its defence, and not until 1284 could put up a wooden municipal building with a stone prison, proves satisfactorily that the cities of Holland were not so powerful and free as the large Flemish cities. Dordrecht again went furthest in this respect, and, in 1296, it received the right of electing its own government. Floris bestowed privileges further on Brouwershaven, Arnemuiden, and Medemblik, while Schiedam and Gorkum obtained these from their own lords. Under the last count of the Holland house, Beverwijk and Rotterdam finally followed.

All these places secured a separate government, consisting of magistrates, or sheriff and aldermen, appointed by the count; in about 1250, after the example of the South, sworn councillors, or burgomasters, were joined to the aldermen for financial affairs. They obtained fixed rules for the administration of justice, among which appeared the prohibition of the judicial duel; their financial and military obligations towards the count were circumscribed within certain limitations; liberty of commerce and exemption from tolls in the countship were granted them. Above all, Dordrecht, with its important commerce in salt, wine, fish from the rivers, herring, stone, metal, and wood, was greatly developed, and secured the first

staple rights as early as 1298. The other places on the rivers also seem to have carried on an active commerce. Soon the cities of Holland figured as sureties for the count; their aldermen, as trustworthy men, sealed documents exchanged between great lords; during the troubles about the succession in Holland in the last years of the century, John of Hainaut relied mainly upon the rich citizens.

Quite another development, much more German in character, appears in the diocese of Utrecht, especially in the capital, then more considerable and flourishing than any other city in the North, important as early as Merovingian times, perhaps, indeed, under Rome. We first find the ancient name of the city, Trajectum, in the well-known itinerary of the fourth century after Christ, a name that refers to a point for passing over the river, probably a ferry. It is evident that such a ferry, protected by a castle and supported from a toll, must offer a fitting place for the settlement of a commercial population. The erection of a bishop's seat, and therewith of convents and churches, must further have contributed to the development of the place. It became the chief point for trade with the Frisian districts, after the neighbouring Dorestad had decayed in the time of the Northmen. In the twelfth century, its merchants sailed up the Rhine as far as Coblenz; four great markets were held there annually; it was the seat of the bishop's mint, and had, early in the twelfth century, walls and moats; its citizens, endowed at this time with rights from Emperor Henry V. and Bishop Godebald, were not required in the thirteenth century to serve the bishop outside of the city.

The same century furnishes proofs of the independence which the citizens of this bishop's city, just as was the case in other German episcopal cities, gradually succeeded in obtaining. The Flemish cities were, in the second half of the thirteenth century, not so independent of their

count as those in the diocese, especially the city of Utrecht itself, were of their bishop. Yet the latter still possessed important rights. The count, the king's representative in the district containing the city, was of slight importance as early as 1220, when he lost his last rights; the bishop had invested his own officer, the burggrave, with a part of the count's former rights, while another part fell to the bailiff, long since one of the bishop's officials. Sheriff and aldermen, the bishop's officials, formed the lower court of justice in the city; the aldermen, with the marshal of the surrounding country, constituted the government and were perhaps also the superior court of justice. In 1252, the board of aldermen became the only court of the city which, with regard to judicial matters, was separated from the neighbouring districts. Here are seen the customary phenomena of the development of municipal government. First, sheriff and aldermen are found, chosen originally by the lord of the land, later perhaps by joint selection from the old families of the city. Then, comes (in Utrecht at the end of the twelfth century) the council as an annex to the aldermen, to aid them in the government of the city; speedily it surpasses the board of aldermen and restricts them to more or less purely judicial functions. Afterwards, appear *jurati*, possibly representatives of the powerful guild of merchants, which here existed at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The patricians govern the city, until the lower guilds as well demand influence, particularly in the financial management, which occurred at Utrecht in 1267. There follows a struggle between the citizens and guilds, in which the latter, although temporarily defeated, obtain the victory at last (1304). The war against the bishop is begun: his sheriff falls more and more into the background before the council, the representative of the citizens. Still there continues the right, repeatedly proclaimed with emphasis, of the bishop, the lord, although the city has secured a

considerable measure of independence. The second half of the thirteenth century with its continual uprisings against the bishops now brought a change. With the help of the count of Holland, the city rebels against Bishop John of Nassau and his successor John of Zyrik: concerning the excise, judicial, and other affairs, severe dissensions arise, in which the city is often victorious. Bishop William of Mechlin was, for a whole year, kept as a prisoner within the city, and it ever became more evident that the latter was too strong for its lord—an omen of the important future awaiting it.

Corresponding events took place across the Yssel. A close analogy with the neighbouring Saxon districts is here likewise not to be mistaken. In the upper part of the diocese, the ancient Deventer was, in the twelfth century, undoubtedly the most important commercial city on the Yssel, and its money was early current in the whole eastern and north-eastern sections of the bishopric and in the adjoining lands. Emperor Henry V. had here, in 1123, granted some rights of little importance, which were augmented by the bishops of the twelfth century, and became the foundation of the rights of the other places in this region: the country town of Zwolle in 1230; Kampen, favourably situated for a commercial place, somewhat later, about the middle of the century. The small country towns of Oldenzaal, Ommen, Hasselt, Genemuiden, Enschede — growing market-places — obtained from the successive bishops the Deventer laws, either wholly or with slight modification. In all these places, the largest three of which were well known everywhere on the coasts of the Baltic and the North Sea as important commercial towns in the second half of the century, “judge, aldermen, and councillors” appear as the city government, indubitably belonging to the wealthy landowners or the influential merchants. Aldermen and councillors remain here united in a power-

ful board and push the episcopal judge aside. Little or nothing is evident of any influence of the lower population. It may possibly have been greater than we can know, owing to the lack of documents and other authorities for these towns from the thirteenth century. Groningen freed itself by degrees in the course of the century from the bishop's *præfectus*. Repeated revolts took place here against the *præfectus* and against the bishop's authority, which at this distance could not be strongly maintained. The municipal government is directed by the prefect and the council chosen from the merchants' families, of which the members are called *consules*, *seniores*, or *aldermanni*. Besides these, we find mentioned here four *rationales* (burgomasters).

In the Frisian districts, Leeuwarden and Dokkum are named, together with the ancient commercial Stavoren, in the few documents coming down to us from the thirteenth century. The older man, aldermen, and councillors form the government; in Stavoren, the place of the first is taken by the sheriff, whose influence grows more marked in the years during which the count of Holland actually exercises authority in Friesland. In Friesland, apparently, much of the management of affairs rested with the entire body of citizens of the community, either in person or in their representatives, prominent among which were the merchants and rich peasants. In the absence of a lord of the land, it is very probable that the Frisian citizens—except again in Stavoren, usually dependent on the count of Holland—elected their own government without any interference, unless from the influence of powerful and wealthy families settled in the cities. At Stavoren, the old privileges, granted by Count Egbert, were in 1290 confirmed and increased by King Rudolph; two years later, however, Count Floris V. conferred upon this city a charter framed after that of the Holland cities. There is no evidence of such privileges so far as concerns

Leeuwarden and Dokkum. Probably the citizens here, in fixing their self-government, took for a model some neighbouring city, either Stavoren or Groningen. From later conditions, it is plain that these towns were very favourably situated for exporting as well as for market-places of the surrounding country, and that they consequently developed from common villages into cities. Herewith, it is worthy of observation that in the Friesland of Münster, between the Lauwers and Ems, as early as 1057, markets existed at Winsum and Garreweer, with the right of coining money, as well as at Dokkum, Bolsward, and Leeuwarden. In the Frisian districts around Groningen, however, owing to this city's favourable situation and rapid rise, no other cities could be formed from the market-places. The importance of these places as markets long continued to be secondary, and finally their markets went over to Groningen.

In the countship of Guelders, the development of the cities began in the thirteenth century. River commerce and markets were here again the causes of the growth of important settlements. Zutphen, with its genuine German law of a "free city," became the model for others. Harderwick received the Zutphen law in 1231; Emmerich, Lochem, and Arnhem in 1233; Wageningen in 1268; Groenloo in 1277; Doesburg in 1237; Doetinchem, Gent, Borkeloo, probably also Roermond and Geldern, at the same time, received somewhat modified laws. Nimwegen, the ancient Roman fortress and Carolingian royal castle, must have early enjoyed the rights of Aix-la-Chapelle and other imperial cities. Frederick II. and his son confirmed them in 1230. The pledging of the city by King William to Count Otto of Guelders, seventeen years later, cannot have been advantageous to it, so far as concerns self-government; it prevented Nimwegen's development into a free imperial city like the German cities of the fourteenth century. The ancient Tiel had, in the thirteenth

century, lost its earlier importance as a commercial place. Dordrecht apparently surpassed it; the toll was transferred by Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, about 1170, to Keizersweerd and constantly decreased in importance, compared with that of Arnhem and Lobith. Tiel remained a country town, a market for the fertile neighbourhood and important only as such. Everywhere in Guelders, we find "judge and aldermen," the latter numbering twelve in the cities with the Zutphen law, charged with the administration of justice and government; often, even the board of aldermen is elected without the count's coöperation by the citizens, *i. e.*, the great citizens; everywhere, however, there are small divergences from the mother city to be observed. As in Holland and Utrecht, no city of this period in Guelders could be compared in importance to the great Flemish municipalities; the cities of Guelders cannot even be placed in the same rank with the larger ones of Holland and Utrecht. Not until later, were some of them to step more to the front in opposition to the count's authority, which they had now to consider more than had their sisters of Holland, who, in their turn, were much more dependent upon the lord of the land than were the cities in the diocese of Utrecht—above all, remote Groningen and the capital—on the weak princes of the church. Only the Frisian country towns were entirely independent, and they knew, or at least recognised, no lord.

The Netherlandish cities of the thirteenth century must, in many respects, have presented a very modest appearance. There were not always moats around them, or even thick stone walls. Generally, the city people must have been content with earth walls, protected from the outside by wooden enclosures, made of planks and fastened into the ground by wooden stakes. In various documents and chronicles, mention is made of these plank walls, which of course offered a weak defence against an enemy

armed with apparatus for throwing fire, although they afforded a strong resistance to heavy missiles and battering-rams, which could more easily destroy the primitively constructed brick masonry than the earth walls covered with thick planks. Machines for slinging heavy stones and others enabling the enemy to bombard the city wall from above with arrows and stones often made short work of these wooden defences. A single stone tower was sometimes the centre of defence between the wooden enclosures.

Stone was as little in general use for the building of houses as for the city wall in the thirteenth century. Only churches were usually constructed of stone, in the half-Romanesque style that formed the transition to Gothic. In the middle of the century, we see everywhere, even in distant Friesland, brick used in place of the stone formerly employed and obtained with difficulty from the Rhine at Andernach, of which Utrecht and Deventer were the markets. In the South, the neighbourhood of Tournay and Namur furnished the sort of stone necessary for building castles and churches, but here also it commenced to give way to brick. The increasing use of brick, which material was so much more available, greatly promoted the building of substantial dwellings, but in as considerable a city as Dordrecht, about 1300, the city hall was mainly constructed of wood as were nearly all the dwelling houses. Stone as a building material was still a luxury and was chiefly employed for the abodes of princes and noblemen, and gradually for those of the prominent citizens. Low wooden and thatched houses were the type of the city dwellings in the thirteenth century. And who knows in what sort of mud huts the poorer population was packed?

There was still very little trace of streets in a modern sense. Was not Paris, the capital of the mighty king of France, only in part provided with streets at the end of

the twelfth century? Where "streets" are spoken of in the Netherlands, roads between the houses are as a rule to be understood, not any too straight, not any too regular, not any too trim, unclean with rubbish and offal, sometimes scarcely recognisable from holes and puddles, here and there made passable by boards and straw. Especially in the northern regions, ever lagging behind in civilisation, where we find such conditions present a century later, the situation in the days of the rise of the cities must have left very much to be desired, according to our ideas. In the South, on the other hand, whose municipal halls and belfries, like those of Ypres and Bruges, date in part from this century, more progress had already been made in this respect. In Bruges and Ghent, there are, in the thirteenth century, fixed items in the municipal accounts for the pavement of the principal streets, the stone quarries in the Meuse districts supplying the material. This pavement would not have come up to our demands, but it was there at least. Stone dwellings are repeatedly mentioned, and so are squares, which were probably not yet paved, but simply consisted of open grassy or sandy places, with pumps and with water-troughs for the small animals running through the streets. If the circumstance be remembered, further, that the lighting of streets was for centuries longer an unknown luxury, so that everyone who ventured out of his house at night had to provide himself with a lantern in order to avoid mishaps on the bad roads and streets and to keep off highwaymen—a city of the thirteenth century will certainly not appear to us a very attractive place of residence. Moreover, how easily a fire could arise in a city so arranged! This actually happened times innumerable, and often the result was that, owing to the insufficiency of the means for extinguishing fires and the inflammability of the materials, the greatest part, if not the whole of a city, was consumed by fire in a very

short time. Countless times, therefore, we hear of fires that wiped out entire cities; in the North for more than two centuries later, until there also the wooden houses began to disappear before the stone houses, the thatched roofs had to give way to tiles, and the fire department was organised on a better scale.

In these cities, lived a very mixed population. Besides the free citizens, there were found serfs of all kinds, who, according to the charters of most places, could consider themselves free after a certain period of undisputed residence—usually a year and a day. Many serfs settled in a city with their lord's consent, but still retained a certain degree of servitude, so that, in almost every book of municipal statutes of this and later times, we read of servile dwellers in the city. There were found very many kinds of working people, generally in fixed quarters, living together and giving name to the quarter or street. There were found merchants, who usually went upon their own ships to domestic or foreign commercial ports or transported their wares by the less safe roads. There were found peasants who had their inherited property within the city and some land immediately outside the walls, where they raised their crops or pastured their cattle. There were noblemen, who chiefly for the sake of safety had chosen the city for their home, and who were sometimes, like the principal merchants, distinguished by the strength of the walls and moats around their stone mansions or by the beauty of the buildings themselves.

Among them all, those only were recognised as citizens who had obtained civic rights either by birth, or marriage, or purchase, who had taken the citizens' oath and had paid the money for their reception. They might be regarded as the only ones having any rights in the city; their names were inscribed in the book of the citizens. The right of citizenship could be forfeited by a sentence or lost by voluntary removal; usually it was also lost by

accepting the rights of a citizen in another city. Whoever left the city in one of the last two ways paid for the privilege of departure, as an indemnity for the loss that the city sustained in his person and fortune. Some cities made agreements, by which this payment for the privilege of removal was abolished by mutual arrangements. The other inhabitants stood in relation to the citizens as half-foreigners, whose presence in the city was indeed tolerated, and who, during residence there, had to submit to the city government and enjoyed protection, but lost all right to it as soon as they went outside of the city. The citizens, the great citizens, as they were sometimes called, who exclusively had the right to share in the government of the city, who formed the militia intrusted with the defence of the city, constituted a third order, which was just beginning to come up but was soon to surpass in power the first two orders of society. Although springing, for the most part, from the same classes that inhabited the country, the city people looked down with contempt upon the peasants and showed little respect for nobility and clergy, whose privileges they began to dispute.

More and more the citizens asserted themselves. By the staple right, they forced the peasants of the neighbourhood to bring their produce exclusively to the city for a market; they sought, by these and other privileges, to make the country dependent upon themselves and to secure the monopoly of commerce and industry. Often do we find, in the Flemish cities of the thirteenth century, mention made of "outside citizens," who settled in the immediate vicinity, and wished to enjoy the privileges of a citizen without the city walls and at the same time to escape from the burdens of the country. The citizens opposed the clergy's claim to exemption from municipal taxation, and even the extravagant growth of the great estates of the clergy in the city. They made the proud

noblemen feel that the time was past when, with impunity, they could plunder the travelling merchant or impose unlawful taxes upon him. They even dared to stand up against the powerful lord of the land, to compel him to abstain from tyranny towards them; they made him dependent upon them by loans of money.

The interests of commerce, of the great traders particularly, now came to the front in the cities, where they played the chief part. The cities began to unite with one another in the interest of commerce. They formed "hanses," leagues of several commercial cities, soon combined in the great German Hansa into one whole, in which, however, the competition between the very heterogeneous constituents prevented powerful coöperation in the long run. A London Hansa was formed in the thirteenth century by a number of cities of Northern France and the Netherlands, among which were Cambrai, Lille, Ypres, Douay, Tournay, Ghent, Bruges, Dixmuiden, Bailleul, and Poperinge in Flanders, outside of it Huy, Valenciennes, Orchies, and Escouvins, seventeen to twenty-four cities altogether, most of them belonging to Flanders. Its commercial domain extended from Troyes to London; Bruges and Ypres were its chief places. Only great merchants could be members of this Hansa and enjoy its privileges. It carried on an active business with the Baltic and North Sea cities.

In the North, the commercial relations with these last were even more active. Groningen, Stavoren, Leeuwarden, Dokkum, Kampen, Zwolle, Deventer, Zutphen, Utrecht, Dordrecht, Middelburg, joined, late in the century, the great Hansa which, under the lead of Hamburg and Lübeck, soon ruled over the Baltic and North Seas. From Smolensk, where we meet with Groningen merchants as early as 1229, to England, and even to Biscay, we find activity proceeding from the cities of the Netherlands. Indeed, the Netherlandish merchant of the

thirteenth century was of some importance in the world. Not merely in his own city was he lord and master, but, united with his colleagues elsewhere, he became so likewise upon the neighbouring seas and rivers, upon the shores of distant lands. The maritime laws of Wisby in the Baltic and of Oléron in France met one another in the commercial ports of Flanders, Holland, and Friesland, and formed there the basis of commercial intercourse. Kings of England, France, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Russia granted the merchants privileges, exemption from tolls and taxes, the right of staple and trade; they gave them permission, even in a foreign country, to use their own municipal laws in mutual disputes, to let themselves be governed by their own elected magistrates; to please them, they made an end of the old law of the strand, which gave stranded goods to the lord, or at least bound it to fixed rules; they protected the merchants with all their power.

It need not excite surprise, therefore, when we see the spirit of the citizens acting powerfully also upon the literature of the period. New thoughts fermented through all society. The romance of chivalry, which reflects the ideals of knighthood, which delights in recounting the adventures of Charlemagne's Paladins, Arthur's Round Table, and of the heroes of ancient Greece, was no longer, as in the first half of the century, the expression of the prevailing tendency of society. Instead of the false, foreign tales, the sober citizen appearing in practical life demands a new literature, one aiming at practical things, at the diffusion of useful knowledge. The didactic poem bears its mark. Maerlant, the citizen poet, "the father of the German poets," strikes the key-note. Not merely pleasure, but instruction is chiefly to be sought. Schools spring up everywhere. In opposition to the minstrel, the messenger of love, the flatterer of nobility, steps into the lists the "clerk," the herald

of wisdom, the man of the people, himself coming from the people. The "German Cato," the book of the wise maxims of ancient times, drives out the frivolous love-song of the courtly singer. In opposition to the brute force and sensuality of the verse of chivalry are ranged the religious and moral tone of the popular poetry. The "Martin" poems of Maerlant, so earnest in sentiment and form; his pious strophes, "Of the Wounds of Our Lord"; his instructive "Flowers of Nature"; his "Rhymed Bible," and his "Historical Mirror" are to the poet himself his true work. He is ashamed of the knightly verses of his youth, the "Merlin," the "History of Troy," in which he had sacrificed to fable and falsehood. Here, too, Flanders shows the way. Maerlant was a Fleming, though closely connected with Holland, and so was Philip Utenbroeke, who continued his work. Brabant, on the other hand, has in its Louis of Velthem, who went on still further with Maerlant's work, a poet who did not grasp the new spirit in its full significance, an enemy of the "vicious multitude." John of Heelu, the Brabant poet of the "Battle of Woeronc," is, likewise, no intellectual brother of the great Fleming. Did not Duke John I., the courtly poet of love, live in Brabant in Maerlant's time? Holland has a better representative of the new spirit in its Melis Stoke, the historian of Holland's past. It is no mere chance that Flanders and Holland, in this respect, stand at the head. From them, the greatest power of the people was to go forth. The future belonged to the people.





CHAPTER XV

THE STRUGGLE OF THE FLEMISH COMMUNES

NOWHERE in the Netherlands were the cities so successful—for a time at least—in resisting the unjust pretensions of the over-lord as in Flanders, which owed its prosperity to commerce and manufacture.

The communities of the Flemish provinces developed more vigorously, were more numerous, and far more effectively organised than those of other places. At the end of the thirteenth century, the municipal aristocracies, the families of merchants¹ who had been prosperous for several generations and had become land-owners, were not only the leaders, the protectors of their communities, but in truth their masters. Gradually a change came about. The workmen, united in guilds of their own crafts, led by their deacons, made the patricians feel, from time to time, that they were a power which could not be ignored. Later, they gave evidence of their material and moral superiority.

The organisation of the guilds was well arranged with a view of protecting manufacture against competition. The real fundamental principles of guild-existence were maintenance of equality of condition among the workmen, equality of production, which implied equality of wages, and care for the quality of the article manufactured.

¹ The term patrician will be used to designate the city families to distinguish them from the landed aristocracy, the nobles of the land.

There was no difference in rank between master and apprentice, only a difference in skill. The apprentices entered the service of a "master." After several years they became journeymen and received wages for their work instead of being paid in board, lodging, and technical instruction as heretofore. When they had laid by a certain amount, they, in turn, became masters. The chief requisitions for this step were, civil rights, usually a house or dwelling of their own, situated on the same street with their brethren of the guilds, their own tools, sufficient capital to buy raw material and to maintain employees, if earnings fell short. In later times it was, moreover, necessary to make a test work, a *chef-d'œuvre*, before mastership could be acquired.

There were reciprocal responsibilities between master and employee. The apprentice lived under his master's roof, as a member of the family, bound to serve and obey the head of the house, who was in turn bound to initiate the lad in his craft to the best of his ability. The journeyman, or knave (*knaap*), on the contrary, no longer lived with his employer, but was still regarded in the light of a younger brother (*jongere broeder*). His wages and his work were regulated by fixed rules, and the master received a fixed portion of the profits. The guild was a great family; its leaders were either appointed directly by the city government or indirectly by being chosen by the guild brothers under supervision of municipal officers. The guild had its chapel in the church; its common purse from which assistance was afforded to the sick or infirm of the guild; its inn where the members met and celebrated festivities; its fixed laws, rules, and statutes by which the brethren had to abide on pain of fine, all regulated by guild officers who were known under a variety of terms—elders, deacons, wardens, finders, etc. The old name "guild brothers" shows the ideal of close relationship existing in the organisation. The aim was

equality of production, of material, of workmanship, of price of the product; every detail, in short, was fixed by rule, often to the smallest particular. Every completed article had to pass the approval of the guild officers before it could be offered for sale. The greatest pains were taken to avoid any competition between guild brothers, to prevent any marked difference in workmanship turning the scale to the advantage of one over another.

Thus, complete annihilation of liberty in production, checking individual effort to attain a higher degree of perfection, was the dark side of guild organisation, while the close union between members of the same craft was the bright side. In the disturbances of the thirteenth century the results of strength created by union were felt. The battle of the Spurs, in 1302, awakened a spirit of freedom among Flemish workmen, and in its wake followed a spirit of change.

In some respects the fourteenth-century workman was very well off. A lack of exact data as to prices of provisions, etc., in the northern provinces makes it impossible to draw accurate conclusions in regard to the proletariat there.¹ Flanders affords a better opportunity for study, and it is plain that the Flemish workmen of the period enjoyed far more favourable conditions than do Belgian artisans to-day—provided peace and quiet prevailed in the land so that there was no hindrance to the transportation of raw materials to the workshops and of the manufactured article to the markets.

Now the same conclusion has been reached in regard to Germany and England at the same period and to Holland a century later. It seems at first glance, therefore, as though there were substantial basis for the claim that the problems of the division of the profits of labour were better solved in the fourteenth century than to-day.

It must, however, be remembered that artisans were

¹ Deventer is the only city whose accounts are preserved.

far more affected by political changes than now. Peace and quiet! We know what they were in the fourteenth century. At that epoch regularity of importation and exportation could never be counted on. Famine and epidemics were constant visitors. Prices would sometimes rise suddenly with no corresponding change in wages. Thousands of artisans, ill-prepared for hard times from the lack of opportunity to save, badly housed as to hygienic conditions, crowded together in tiny dwellings little better than huts, suffered hunger and misery, deteriorated morally and physically, and finally were only too ready for rebellion and plunder.

From 1348 to 1351 the great pest raged in Europe and depopulated villages and cities until the outlook became desperate indeed. In the Netherlands, as elsewhere, the poor fell victims when the better conditions of the rich enabled them to avoid contagion. As to personal security, that had to be purchased, and there was little chance for peaceful enjoyment of life without money to guard its liberties.

All this must be considered when we attempt to understand the tendency of the Flemish artisan to indulge in uproar and rebellion. And if such inclination began to manifest itself there was little to check it. The artisan class was organised, closely welded together, and the rank and file were thus prepared to revolt against the oppression of the ruling families. Naturally their hope was to win happiness. But social revolutions are ill cures for social evils, and usually serve to increase social disasters for some time to come. After a year of misery the result was an increase of monarchical power, achieved by those who needed the maintenance of order, that is, by everyone with any property at stake, little as it might be.

Counts Guy and Robert of Flanders went to the grave without understanding the significance of the rise of the guilds. Louis of Nevers succeeded his father, Robert, in

1322. Feudal in his very nature, he carelessly played with dangerous fire. He calmly handed over Sluis to his uncle, John of Namur, who established a market there. This injured Bruges twofold. Sluis was its port, and could not be spared by the merchant city, and the market was in direct rivalry; the gift gave the signal for an angry revolt against the patrician families, in which the peasants joined the citizens. Some cities followed the example of Bruges and gathered under her banner. Ghent, however, hated her rival more than her oppressors, remained faithful to the count, and became the stronghold for the nobles. It was the same jealousy that had frequently broken the strength of the Flemish communes. One Nicholas Zannekin became leader, and headed an attack first on Ghent and then on Courtrai, where the count had taken refuge, and which proved too weak to protect him from being taken prisoner by Zannekin.

French nobles came to his rescue, and he was freed by their efforts and by making promises, which he treacherously broke as soon as he was again among his friends. They were too strong, however, for Zannekin's force. The nobles had gained the upper hand, and they sealed it with the peace of Arques (1326). Bruges, Ypres, and Courtrai submitted. All this, however, was but a prologue. In 1328, Philip of Valois took possession of the throne of France on the extinction of the family of Capet. In Flanders there was opposition to his succession, probably excited by Edward III. of England, also a claimant to the French throne. The popular agitation that had been, apparently, pacified, broke out anew. Count Louis of Flanders asked the new French king, his feudal chief, for aid, and marched triumphantly into Flanders at the head of a French army, bearing the oriflamme as standard. Near Cassel he fell on Zannekin and his followers, whom he utterly annihilated (August 23, 1328). The battle of the Spurs was avenged. The

burghers were worsted. Their picks and knives, the peasant's farm tools, had to yield to the lances and two-handed swords of the nobles, experienced in battle, cased in armour, and well mounted. For years long the count was again master in Flanders.

But the cause of the controversy between the lord and his subjects remained unchanged, and the organisation of the guilds constantly became stronger. In Ghent, and probably elsewhere, the patricians egged on the turbulent weavers against the other guilds. At that time we find the deacons of the fullers and of the small trades side by side with those of the burghers as important municipal officials. Still while unquestionably the weavers were the most influential guild, restless and ever inclined to agitation, always sympathising with England because their raw material came thence, the other guilds were strengthening themselves. At first they were a support to, and later a danger for, the ruling families.

A new cause of contention arose from the pretensions of Edward III. of England to the French throne, which he proceeded to urge openly. The spirited and clever English prince counted on the coöperation of the Flemings, if not on their sympathy, to aid him in his attack on France. He was perfectly well aware that the Flemings' affection was not for England, but for English wool which they needed for their cloth manufacture; but he trusted in that, and he did not trust in vain.

He hoped, too, to make allies of the other Netherland and Rhineland princes, and thus to revive the ancient alliance against France, last renewed in 1294. Indeed, he even counted on aid from Louis of Bavaria, who did not share the sympathies of his imperial predecessors. Edward was allied by marriage to the reigning family in Holland, and with their aid finally succeeded in making several of the desired alliances, among them, one with the emperor. Like his predecessors, he had an affection

for English gold, and on July 13, 1337, Louis accepted a large sum of money and declared that Edward's interests were his. A year later Edward appeared on the continent with a brilliant army, and in September, 1338, at the diet of Coblenz, was created vicar of the empire. Thus there was a widespread movement against Philip. The attitude of Flanders was at first uncertain. The count, naturally, was ready to stand by the prince who had saved him at Cassel, and, just as naturally, the communes did not evince the slightest inclination to break with England and with English wool.

Jacques van Artevelde was, at this time, a man somewhat under forty. He belonged to one of the most influential burgher families of Ghent. His father had been sheriff. He himself was a member of the clothmakers' guild, rich, and universally respected. Froissart says that he stood in such high favour among his fellow-countrymen that his every command was obeyed and well obeyed. In 1338, he was appointed captain of one of the municipal districts, and finally the direction of the whole city, yes, of all Flanders, was forced upon him, and he was far more respected than the count. When the English envoys made a journey through the Netherlands to gain support for their sovereign, they followed the advice of William of Holland and Hainaut and made a personal application to Artevelde and to his father-in-law, Zeger of Courtrai, one of the richest men of Flanders.

Artevelde and his followers gave hearing to the English embassy, on account of the exigencies of commerce, but they refrained from closer relations, out of fear for the French king who was still their suzerain. Zeger received the embassy hospitably at Courtrai, and shortly afterwards was treacherously seized by Count Louis, at the suggestion of Philip, and beheaded, Artevelde himself barely escaping the same fate.

Zeger's death had immediate effect in Ghent. Indig-

nant at Louis's treachery, the burghers opened communication with Edward, without, however, declaring openly for him. They had at the bottom a deep-seated respect for feudal institutions, and were not ready to withdraw allegiance from their natural lord, however much indignation and commercial interests led them to incline toward England. Artevelde was thus in the ambiguous position of a leader of the party in Flanders who nominally acknowledged Philip and the count, while really they were opposing them. Among the nobles the *Leliaerts* were those who openly espoused the lilies of France. They were the first opponents to be disposed of. The citizens of Ghent, the *Clauwaerts*,¹ headed by Artevelde, obtained a victory over them in open field at Biervliet, and were then joined by the other communities. Tournay and Dixmuiden alone remained in possession of the other party.

Philip was afraid of Flanders, and asked the citizens to remain neutral. Artevelde was inclined to accept the proposition, fearing lest Flanders might become the battleground of hostile princes. In his relations with England he confined himself to general assurances of friendship, hoping that this would be sufficient to obtain the commercial advantages which Edward was continually dangling as a bait before the Flemings' eyes. Artevelde maintained his neutrality even when Edward of Brabant and Hainaut laid siege to Cambrai. But this uncertain relation became impossible when, at the end of the year, Count Louis deserted Flanders and took refuge with Philip. Then the chief cities of Flanders asserted themselves and made an open alliance with Brabant, Hainaut, Holland, and England for joint maintenance of war with France. It was under Artevelde's protection and by his advice that Edward formally assumed the arms and title of King of France. After this step the Flemings felt

¹ *Clauwaerts*, followers of the Flemish lion or Nationalists.

justified in acknowledging him and in giving him full adherence, as the deep-rooted feudal feeling of fealty to the feudal chief was no longer violated. Edward was no longer a mere pretender to the French throne, but the true king, and Philip was an usurper who had robbed the king of his rights.

From that time on Flanders was, in truth, the battlefield of the contending parties, and suffered all the disadvantages of a sanguinary war, while Artevelde became the great champion of Edward's rights.

It was a long contest, as the armies were large on both sides. At first the Flemish and English were successful, but, finally, the mother of the young count of Hainaut, who was also Philip's sister, succeeded in establishing a truce, and Count Louis returned to Flanders. In spite of his return, Artevelde remained the real ruler of Flanders, and maintained his friendship with Edward, who called him his "*cher compère*," his "*grand ami*." The burgher leader was not, however, deceived by these terms as to the extent of his friendship, and calmly continued to strengthen his own power, relying on the great advantages that security on the sea, diminution of toll and taxes for Flemish merchants in English ports, and increasing commerce with England gained for his country. He reorganised Flanders, divided it into three divisions with Ghent, Ypres, and Bruges as the capitals, and established the municipal government of Ghent and the other cities on a democratic footing. He himself, as upper deacon of the guilds, was at the head of the government of Ghent, which had always held him in high esteem. The complete organisation of the government is not perfectly clear: citizens, weavers, and the small guilds formed, as before, the elements of the population from which the government was elected, the three estates. In all cases the guilds were supreme both in Ghent and elsewhere. The appointment of the majority of the sheriffs

lay in their hands. Possibly Artevelde's change from the aristocratic guild of the clothmakers to that of the brewers had something to do with this democratic arrangement. This much is plain from the measures adopted by Artevelde at that epoch, that he had transferred the supremacy in the city government from the old aristocracy, the so-called freemen, to the guilds.

But his days were numbered even while his coöperation with Edward III. grew steadily closer. He himself conceived the plan of having the untrustworthy, French-sympathising, but legitimate Count Louis replaced by the Prince of Wales. In the early summer of 1345, King Edward came to the Netherlands, and Artevelde took the occasion of his visit to confide this scheme to his fellow-citizens. But the Flemish leaders were shocked at the idea, refused to consent without further consideration, and returned home to think over the proposition. Artevelde remained with Edward at Sluis, and then laid his plans eloquently before the people of Bruges and Ypres. Later, he betook himself to Ghent to arrange to make the Prince of Wales, count of Flanders.

At Ghent great dissatisfaction with Artevelde's government had obtained for some time. There were many complaints about his ambitious bearing, his tone of superiority, the state he maintained, and the direction in which he was leading the Flemings. Moreover, all power was lodged in the hands of a few guilds. There was talk of treachery towards the lawful count, towards the lawful king. Personal enmity, ambition of demagogues, and intrigues of the *Leliaerts* did the rest. On May 2d (Evil Monday), a riot occurred which made Artevelde's power tremble in the balance. His position grew still weaker, when King Edward, annoyed at the hesitation of the Flemings and their lack of sympathy for a complete alliance with England, abandoned his scheme, promised to acknowledge Count Louis, and left his allies in the

lurch. The anti-English sentiment grew stronger. The ground sank away under the leader's feet, and he rushed headlong upon his fate. On July 24, 1345, he entered Ghent at noon, and was received and followed by an angry multitude, who crowded around his unprotected dwelling and uttered threats against the man who wanted to rule Flanders to his taste.

The ungrateful weavers, who owed everything to Artevelde, lent ready ears to this. It was a moving drama that was played that afternoon in the street where the great man lived. Froissart has painted it in glowing colours.¹

From his house on the Calanderberg the leader made a speech to the mob, and defended himself from the absurd accusation of having transferred the treasury to England. He did not succeed in bringing the people to reason. They threatened to murder him, and surged like the sea around his dwelling. The noble citizen humbled himself anew with an explanation to the unruly multitude eager for his death. "Men, you have made me what I am. Once you swore to defend and protect me against all, now you wish to kill me without a hearing. You can do it if you will, for I am but one man against you all, and I have no protection. But come to yourselves with God's aid and think of times that have passed." He showed them what they owed to him, pointed out the prosperous condition of commerce and industry during the last years, all resulting from the close alliance with England. Nothing helped. "Come out, and don't preach to us from a height. We want reckoning of your administration." Artevelde shut the window from which he spoke, tried to take refuge in a neighbouring church, but in vain. He was overtaken and murdered by the raging mob. "The poor raised him on high and the wicked slew him." That is the epitaph given him by the inimical but chival-

¹ Chap. i., 51.

rous Froissart, the conclusion of the life of the greatest Fleming of all times, of him whom his contemporaries distinguished by the name of *saige homme*—the wise man.

Artevelde dead, Flanders was left without a master, and a lawless period followed. Count Louis fell at the battle of Crécy (1346), and his son, the last of the Dampierres, Louis de Male,¹ succeeded him. The new count showed some force of character at first and suppressed the tumults in the guilds, but the suppression was only temporary. The weavers were the main offenders, and we find frequent proclamations directed against them, published about 1350, in the three Flemish capitals. Louis only succeeded in holding his own by aid of French troops, and, from that time, was as dependent on the French crown as his father had been before him.

The battle of Poitiers (1356) proved fortunate for Flanders. That put an end to the French-English war and restored some degree of tranquillity in international commerce. A peasant revolt in France was also advantageous, as it freed Flanders from French troops. The Flemish cities increased in riches and in size. The guilds, too, grew stronger and began to regain their former influence.

Between 1379 and 1385, the after-piece of the drama of Jacques van Artevelde was enacted. Louis de Male proved quite incapable of retaining the affection of his subjects. His dissipations, his prodigality, his petty warfare, all pressed heavily on his realm. His warfare with Brabant was not wholly without advantage, as Mechlin and Antwerp were ceded to Flanders (1357), and richly compensated for the loss of Lille and Douay to France.

His government was not without splendour. Louis loved display, was feudal in his sympathies, and entirely antagonistic to any ideas of democracy. As for the

¹ A name adopted from his usual place of residence.

guilds, he both hated and feared them as natural enemies to his caste, as underminers of his father's power and of his own. And the fire smouldered on, ready to break out at a touch.

Had the cities been united in sympathy as they were in their true interests, they would have been strong. But their jealousy of each other, "the work of the devil," as Froissart says, was their ruin. In times of misfortune the jealousy was sometimes laid aside, in prosperity it grew and was especially strong between Ghent and Bruges. When the latter bought from the count permission to make a canal which would turn the commerce of France with the North through Bruges and away from Ghent, the jealousy flamed out into an open feud. The Ghenters protested violently and forced Bruges to abandon the project, while they plundered the castles. Now a new and important person appeared on the scene. Louis's son-in-law, Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, stepped in as a mediator and brought about a declaration of peace. But it meant nothing. Louis went to Ghent, was startled to see white caps in the crowd on his arrival, ever a signal in the guilds of rebellion to the count. At the first opportunity he withdrew from the city, to which he speedily laid siege, and the angry quarrels became open war.

The first leader of this revolt in Ghent was John Hyoens. After his death, Peter van den Bossche was captain, and he, frightened at signs of treachery among the patricians, turned for assistance to Philip of Artevelde, youngest son of the once beloved popular leader. He was godchild of Philippa of England, had been banished at the time of his father's fall, and, later, allowed to return to Ghent at the request of Edward III. For more than twenty years he had lived quietly in the city with his mother, and was at this time about forty years old. To him the captain now offered the government of the

city on the same terms that his father had held it. After some hesitation the younger Artevelde accepted it (February, 1381), and his name was received with enthusiasm.

Louis was forced to raise his siege, and could do nothing more than attempt to prevent the importation of provisions into the city. Artevelde's energetic measures, general sympathy felt in Holland, Zealand, Brabant, Liege, the busy commercial relations with foreign lands made these efforts ineffectual, even though the rulers of Holland and Brabant had promised their assistance. Then Louis proceeded to lay waste the territory of Ghent, destroying all the crops. Artevelde was compelled to send far in quest of corn, his ships coasted along Holland and Zealand, his troops ventured farther and farther from the capital until a force of twelve thousand succeeded in gaining Brussels and Louvain, receiving secret aid everywhere. Many supplies reached the unhappy city, and Louis resolved on a new siege. The Ghenters did not wait for that. Under Artevelde they marched on Bruges, defeated the count, and laid the town waste. The cries of "Ghent" resounded against "Flanders the Lion." Louis barely escaped with his life; Bruges, Damme, and Sluis were plundered, too, and, finally, van den Bossche and Artevelde had Flanders virtually in their power. Artevelde was made ruward of Flanders, and was received with respect in every city he visited.

Sympathy with the Flemish cities grew, even Paris evincing partisanship with the popular movement, and a great social movement and a great social revolution seemed pending—people *versus* nobles. Charles V. of France died in 1380, leaving a minor heir under the guardianship of mutually distrustful relations, hostilities were renewed with England in Picardy, and the whole political situation was menacing. In England, too, feudal society was threatened by the same kind of ferment as on the continent, but to England the Flemings determined

to turn, thinking that now the time was come to be free from French dominance, and always having English wool in mind.

A Flemish embassy under Franz Ackerman, a fervent supporter of Artevelde, went to England and offered alliance to Richard II. Unfortunately they opened their negotiations by asking for the large loans they had made to Edward III., and their mission failed. Meanwhile a united attack of France and Burgundy against the Flemings was on foot. All the flower of the nobility of Northern France were prepared to crush the insurrectionary Flemings. In 1382, Charles VI. entered Artois with one body of troops, the constable of France crossed the Lys with another.

The first encounter at the fording of the river was to the invader's advantage, and thousands of Flemings fell. Peter van den Bossche was severely wounded. Philip van Artevelde hastened to Ghent, called out all the citizens to the last man, hoping for help from England till the eleventh hour, but in vain. Ypres yielded to the French, and Bruges showed a disposition to do the same.

With an army of about fifty thousand Flemings, Artevelde attacked the French on the plain of Roosebeke near Courtrai (November 27, 1382), and was defeated, he himself falling sword in hand. Peasants and burghers were no match for trained men. As Froissart says, the battle was of the highest importance to the nobles everywhere. The lower classes were only too ready to revolt. In England, Wat Tyler and his followers (1381) had actually raised the standard of rebellion, but they had failed; and the better-organised Flemings met the same fate, and the feudal spirit remained in force, though the relations of the nobles and citizens were changed, and the feudal spirit was never again paramount.

In the beginning of the fourteenth century came two great changes in warfare. Gunpowder and firearms were

adopted, and mercenary troops came into vogue, ready to be engaged by the highest bidder. These innovations were both great blows to the nobles, who had been, heretofore, the only class to follow war as a profession, and who were skilled in the use of arms.

Saltpetre and sulphur mixed together were known in the early Middle Ages, as well as various missiles, such as fire-lances and fire-rockets. About 1300, one Berthold Schwartz, an obscure Rhenish monk, did something toward the improvement of firearms, but he was certainly not the inventor of powder as has been claimed. Shortly after this date the use of wooden cannon, or arquebuses, a crossbow with fire-rockets,¹ came into use in Flanders and Brabant. Twenty years later, a real hand-cannon, sometimes of iron, was adopted. The famous iron *Dulle Griete* at Ghent, five metres long, of sixty centimetre calibre, dates from about 1380. By means of these weapons it was possible to attack the knight from a distance with a force that his armour was powerless to withstand. The nobles, who had hitherto enjoyed an enormous advantage over burgher and peasant, disliked this novelty, while the burghers eagerly adopted this mighty tool which rendered warfare convenient instead of a craft so difficult to master that it was necessarily confined to a skilled class. Before 1400, stone, iron, lead, bullets, and even bombs were all in use as projectiles, cost many a trained warrior his life, and did good service against thick castle walls.

The possibility, too, of hiring professional soldiers was a great convenience to the unwarlike burghers when there was a contest on foot with the landed nobility who could command a host of vassals.

As early as 1200 or thereabouts, Philip Augustus of France made use of hired troops called soldiers, from the *sold*, or wage, paid them. In the battle of Bouvines there

¹ *Vuur-raketten.*

were twenty thousand of these *soldoyers*, and from that date they play a rôle of varying importance in all campaigns. From the beginning, greed for booty and venality were the vices of these bands roaming from one camp to another. About 1380, one Bertrand du Guesclin was a famous mercenary captain who turned the balance now on one side, now on the other.

Both princes and cities favoured the development of this new soldiery. The former found it far easier to obtain money from their subjects than to force them to serve in person, and felt less dependent on their people with hired troops at their command. The cities could better afford to pay high than to withdraw their citizens from peaceful and profitable occupations. Demand created a supply, and the mercenaries became so numerous that they could always be had where sure pay was forthcoming.

Thus the knights found their occupation gone. Their own private warfares could not give them the skill acquired by men who were willing to espouse any quarrel. Froissart gives many pictures of the degeneration of the nobles at this period, a degeneration consequent on the change of conditions. In his opinion the courts of Edward III. and of the Black Prince were the last refuges of true chivalry.

Poems of the day tell the same story. The *Romaunt of the Rose* shows how form, fashion, and immorality had gained ground among the nobles. Tournaments lost their reality, and became mere plays wherein thought was given to dress, elegance, courtly manners, and knowledge of heraldry rather than to prowess or skill at arms. Chivalrous devotion to women had declined into an immoral game of love. Those who stood aside were counted as prudes, and not respected for their principles. The fight for the church, like the church itself, had lost in repute. No one thought of his duty towards the institution and no one troubled himself about unbelievers except

when an easy victory was to be won over the unarmed peasants in Poland or Lithuania, or when Moorish villagers were to be plundered in Andalusia. The knight of the latter half of the fourteenth century was a simple landlord over his tenants, whom he worked to the utmost in order to be able to meet the heavy expenses demanded by society. He despised peasant, merchant, and guild brother alike, and treated all out of his class as born to serve him and his. As these lower classes grew in power, however, the query began to be raised of the utility of these same arrogant nobles who were no longer the defenders of the land. In England, where Froissart says that respect for chivalry lingered longest, the thought is expressed in the scoffing question:

“ When Adam dolve and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman ? ”

There is an important difference between the two great leaders from the race of Artevelde. Jacques was a strong personality, a deep-thinking statesman, a conscientious leader, a powerful organiser whose ideas were based on the economic needs of his country, whose institutions were lasting—a great figure in the world's history. His son Philip, on the other hand, who did not come forward at his own instance, but was dragged out of his dwelling by an uproarious crowd as his father's son, and placed at their head for his name's sake, was undeniably a man of note, but quite unequal to the difficult task imposed on him. A great social revolution might have resulted then had Philip been adequate to the occasion. But he was not, and although the father perished miserably at the hands of a mob, while the son fell in honourable conflict against a foreign foe, the sympathy of posterity has gone out toward the father, whose statue rises proudly on the historic spot which once knew him.

But Peter van den Bossche and Franz Ackerman, the

sympathisers and true friends of Philip of Artevelde, lived after him. Relying on their assistance, the Ghenters obstinately refused submission, notwithstanding the pressure of Philip of Burgundy and of Louis himself, in whom they had lost all trust. They counted on the help of King Richard II., who had already sent one of his nobles, John le Bourrier, to advise and aid them against the French army. The city refused the proposition of several members of the city aristocracy to reconcile them with the count. Even the cessation of trade in the provinces as a result of the Flemish disturbances could not induce the Ghenters to this step. The whole land was laid waste by the French troops, but Ghent remained steadfast and urged the government to accept the English king as defender. In 1383, the plucky burghers with their English allies laid siege to Ypres, but had to yield to the French. In the autumn a truce was finally concluded between France and England, in which Ghent was included in spite of the count's opposition. During the truce Louis de Male died at St. Omer (January 29, 1384), and was succeeded as count of Flanders, Artois, Nevers, and R  thel, by his son-in-law, Philip the Bold of Burgundy, one of the most brilliant men of his time.

The accession of this energetic and powerful prince, with a reputation extending far beyond the provinces, ended the struggle of Ghent. Two citizens opened negotiations with him and secretly won over the important guilds of the brewers and skippers as well as Franz Ackerman. Ghent was to submit to Burgundy and a universal amnesty was to be declared. Everything was prepared in secret. On a November day in 1385, the conspirators appeared with the banners on the famous Friday market-place, the venerable scene of many revolutions in the tumultuous city. Jean le Bourrier and the implacable Peter van den Bossche tried to save the cause of England, but the people fell on them and declared themselves

for Burgundy. The duke made peace with Ghent and Tournay on December 18th, and received homage shortly afterwards. Peter van den Bossche went to England with John le Bourrier. Franz Ackerman remained in the city, the patricians returned thither, and the power of the guilds was no longer supreme. A few years later Ackerman was murdered by his enemies. Thus ended the Ghent disturbances. From that time on, they were kept under by the duke's heavy hand, and the heroic age of the Flemish guilds was ended. The Burgundians, like their earlier predecessors, relied mainly, though not wholly, for support on the patricians.

Nevertheless, the events of the century had this result, —the guilds were admitted to a share of the government of the Flemish cities, and their deacons played an important part in municipal administration. The guilds were subordinated, but the exclusive mastery of the city aristocracy of the patricians never again prevailed. In the armies maintained by the cities for the use of the sovereign the organised guilds appeared sometimes as the dominant class. Their influence on the course of events was, at least, made permanent, and the voice of the three great cities, Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres had weight occasionally in national affairs. But it was only these great cities which counted. From Artevelde's time the three members of Flanders, the three districts, each headed by one of the great cities, had become fixed divisions. If the prince asked counsel of his subjects, it was only the voice of these three members to which he gave ear.

The Flemish troubles in 1340, and in the following year, struck a blow at Flemish industry and at Flemish commerce which had reached a high degree in the first half of the century. The finances of the cities were ruined, poverty increased, custom returns diminished alarmingly, foreign merchants complained of the insecurity of their

property. Edward III. invited many Flemings to England. Hundreds of Flemish workmen gave ear to the advantageous offers made by the king, and emigrated, and made England a competitor of Flanders. Hundreds more were banished from Flanders as a result of the riots. Moreover, Count Louis de Male tried to punish his rebellious subjects by restrictions and prohibitory measures regarding manufacture and commerce, and succeeded only too well.

The Hanse, that vigorous commercial league, which held all the cities on the coast of the North Sea and the Baltic in a net, had, from its origin in the thirteenth century, an important support in prosperous Flanders, especially in Bruges. In 1252, Countess Margaret gave extensive privileges to the German merchants trading in her provinces. The troubles at the end of the century caused a temporary emigration of these merchants to Aardenburg, situated nearer the sea and offering a safe dwelling place; but even here the security was not perfect. Merchants were repeatedly annoyed by French soldiers, and they moved on to peaceful Dort, but later returned to Aardenburg. It was not till 1310 that they ventured back to Bruges, attracted by the new privileges and favours offered them by Count Robert and the Flemish cities.

From that time they were a much favoured colony in Bruges. A company of merchants stayed for short periods only, usually in the summer, their travelling time; they still enjoyed their own courts, their own government, and influenced both market and customs. They were under the leadership of six elders, chosen from the Wendish-Saxon, Westphalian-Prussian, and Gothic-Livonian "Nations," and formed a little state within the state, a *communitas mercatorum de Alemannia*, protected by the Hanse, which during the fourteenth century was continually making efforts for more power. At Bruges the Carmelite convent

was their place of meeting, the seat of their elders, their warehouse. The colonists lived with the Bruges citizens, and from Bruges as a headquarters visited the neighbouring markets of Brabant and Flanders.

Bruges, the centre of trade for the whole region of the Rhine, Meuse, and Scheldt, and for the whole of northern France, was also the city in which financial operations and exchange developed at an early date. Here credit made its usefulness first felt. Here, probably, an insurance was first tried. Here northern and eastern merchants met those from the Italian cities on the bourse. At Bruges, Lübeck, and Hamburg shook hands with Genoa, Pisa, and Venice.

This development was obstructed by the tumults of the fourteenth century. As early as 1350, the Hanse began to complain of the newly imposed duties, the lack of tranquillity, the deterioration of manufacture in Flanders. Efforts were made to satisfy the league, especially in Bruges; but they were only partially successful. From 1358 to 1360, the Hanse was again established at Dordrecht. The count had less comprehension of the needs of his land than his predecessors, and, in 1380, drove away the merchants, accusing them of conspiring with his rebel subjects. He was not strong enough to enforce his orders, but the Hanse finally established their staple in Antwerp in 1389, and long refused to return to insecure Bruges, whose commercial prosperity was thereby severely crippled.

In addition to this came the gradual filling up of the Zwin, the river-way of Bruges to the sea, which finally caused the fall of the famous commercial city. Ghent recovered herself later, but Bruges and Ypres saw their commerce pass over to Antwerp, which was much better situated, being the city destined to overshadow all others in the Netherlands.

At the end of the fourteenth century, the Fleming must

have looked sorrowfully at the halls of Ypres and Bruges, memorials of the high tide of trade and manufacture in places already doomed to be known as *villes mortes*, although they were to shine with some passing splendour under the rule of the Burgundian sovereigns.

Intellectually, too, Flanders, from the middle of the fourteenth century, was no longer what she had been about 1300. Material deterioration went hand in hand with intellectual; literature of the days of Maerlant had lost much in freshness. Jan Praet, the poet of the "*Leringhe der Zalichede*," was nothing in comparison with Damme. Boendale worthily imitated the great master of the Flemish speech, especially in his *Leekenspieghel* and his *Doctrinale*, ethical works important for knowledge of the thoughts of the time, for a comprehension of the burghers. Not alone nobles and clergy, but burghers and peasants, are represented as the pillars of society by these writers who nevertheless have a growing dread of the waxing democracy, and think that all hope is vested in rich burghers, in the sturdy city population. Boendale died about 1365. After him John de Weert, of Ypres, should be mentioned, who wrote of the *New Doctrinal* also, and was active about the middle of the fourteenth century. He was a severe critic of social evils of his time, of the stupid and avaricious, unchaste and worldly ecclesiastics, as well as of the rapacious nobles and covetous merchants. He imitates Maerlant's *Martijngedichten* in his *Wapene Rogier*, which reflects his times as in a mirror.

But he was the last of Maerlant's great followers and with him the race of Maerlant's disciples died out. The new condition of society called for new forms in literature, and the rhetorician's art came into being. Poets like the Brussels Hein van Aken, who made a Dutch version of the *Romaunt of the Rose*, belong to an earlier period even more than Boendale and De Weert. The burgher poets disappear in the land where they were born. The new

rhetician's art did not flourish in Flanders until the following century when Flanders bloomed afresh. Meanwhile came the good times of the "*boerden*" and "*sproken*," literature of a marked burgher type, only found occasionally in Flanders. Besides, there was devout literature which had its origin elsewhere. At about 1400, Flanders was no longer the centre of the literary culture which was beginning to appear in Brabant and in the northern provinces, Holland and Utrecht. In the latter half of the fourteenth century the country districts of the county also gave unmistakable evidences of deterioration. The villages fell off in population. The frightful devastations of the civil wars, the oppressive mastery of the great cities, the repeated cessation of commerce and industry, were all so many causes of this phenomenon. The great floods of the century, especially that of 1377, completed the work.

The power that was visibly thriving was undeniably that of the sovereign, who, after every victory, made an onslaught upon the liberties of the great communities. After the battle of Cassel, after the fall of Artevelde, after the battle of Roosebeke, many a municipal privilege disappeared and the power of the sovereign was increased. This was especially true after the battle of Roosebeke. The Flemish counts from the house of Dampierre were not possessed of sufficient power to hold the populous cities in check. At every menacing disorder they turned in helpless despair to the French king. When the rescue was accomplished and the king back in his capital, then the count, left to his own resources, was unable to enjoy lasting fruits of the victory and found himself obliged to grant concessions to his subjects. But all that was changed after the battle of Roosebeke and the death of Louis de Male. The powerful new sovereign, the duke of Burgundy, possessor of broad territories outside of Flanders, strove tenaciously to attain a condition that

would make him equal to the king of France, his lord and rival. It was his desire to bring all the territories of his domain under one central government, and to smother all love of liberty, all opposition, in the bud.

The story of the Arteveldes plainly shows the character of that period of Netherland history which we named for them. Everywhere, as in Flanders, the Burgundian finally gained the greatest advantage from domestic troubles in the various provinces. In this period social agitation ceased with the victory of a sovereign whose aim was absolutism.





CHAPTER XVI

THE RISE OF THE THIRD ESTATE IN BRABANT AND LIMBURG

THE course of events in Brabant during the fourteenth century was somewhat analogous to that in Flanders, and yet there were differences which deserve attention.

Next to Flanders, Brabant was the most important province, especially after the union with Limburg in 1288. In 1354, a close alliance was made between the cities of the two provinces which welded into one state territories previously united simply by the accident of a common ruler. Ten years later the territories¹ of Valkenburg and Bois le Duc were added to the province by purchase, after the extinction of the race of Valkenburg. A right to Maestricht, shared by Liege, added to this, gave the rulers of Brabant a considerable position in the Meuse region.

It was only owing to the insignificant character of the Brabant dukes in the fourteenth century that the province failed to play an important part in history. They were far inferior to their predecessors in the eleventh, or to their successors in the fifteenth, century. John II. was weak; his son, John III. (1312-1355), showed some trace of his grandfather's chivalrous character and inclination for war, but he had not sufficient capacity to attain success, and the only results of his costly campaigns were that Brabant

¹ Known as the *Overmaze*.

lost Mechlin and Antwerp and was plunged in poverty. His daughter, Johanna, succeeded him and added a new territory to the family possessions by her marriage with Wenzel, duke of Luxemburg. Wenzel's brother was king of Bohemia and emperor of Germany and a man of far greater ability than Johanna's husband, who made futile efforts to defend his own realm and that of his wife from their neighbour's attacks. On August 22, 1371, he was taken prisoner at Baasweiler by the duke of Guelders and Jülich and was freed, not by his brother's imperial command, but by heavy ransoms paid by his subjects. Naturally the cities took advantage of the duke's embarrassments and difficulties to buy privileges and push forward their own claims. After his death in 1383, Johanna assumed the government for their joint duchies, but was not strong enough to restrain the growing power of the cities, which gradually attained a freedom equal to that enjoyed in the other provinces.

From the time of Wenzel's accession the pretensions of the guilds constantly increased, aided, too, by the uncertain ducal policy in regard to popular movements. Owing to the hostility between the rulers of Brabant and of Flanders, it often happened that the duke was actually in league with the turbulent Flemish workmen against their own ruler. This was not due to ducal love of popular rights, but to ducal hatred of the count of Flanders. It is not strange that the people of Brabant took advantage of this, and the cities grew into prominence only a trifle later than their Flemish neighbours. After the end of the thirteenth century Louvain, Brussels, Mechlin and Antwerp, Bois le Duc, Tirlemont, and Louvain were all powers in Brabant.

Within the cities there were a certain number of prominent or patrician families who were essentially antagonistic to any growth among the lower classes. These families were more closely united than those of a similar

class in Flanders, while the workmen were less numerous. In 1306, the workmen revolted against the overbearing supremacy of the patricians and suffered a sanguinary defeat, which led to the banishment of many workmen and to harsh measures against the existence of the guilds. In 1340, John III. repeated these measures in Louvain and succeeded in holding the seething popular spirit in check. There were no leaders able to direct popular discontent into effective channels of redress. There was no Breydel, or de Conync, no Zannekin, no Artevelde. Not even in Louvain, where the working class was strongest, was there any one man born to command and to direct passion. Mechlin was the single city where the guilds succeeded in obtaining recognition in the municipal administration. In every other town, the powerful families, backed by the duke, were masters. The sovereign found alliance with rich burghers convenient, as they were his chief source of pecuniary supplies, in return for which he granted them important privileges. He could not afford to break loose from their purses and thus was the readier to aid in suppressing the lower classes. In 1312, John II. lay on his death-bed, knowing that he was to leave his minor son to the tender mercies of his subjects. The representatives of nobles and cities were summoned to assure the succession to the heir. This they did, extorting in return from their dying sovereign the charter of Cortenberg, the foundation of Brabantine freedom.

In this charter the tributes (*beden*) which could be demanded from the people were limited to the occasions of the duke's knighthood, marriage, and imprisonment. The imposition of taxes was regulated according to ancient usage and to the claims of justice and equity. No changes could be made without mutual consent. The rights of the free cities were strictly preserved. The care of this charter was entrusted to a council of fourteen,

appointed by the duke for life, four members from the nobles and ten from the cities. This "Council of Cortenberg" was to meet once in three weeks, at the abbey of the same name, and consider all complaints of infringement of law and order in the realms of justice, finance, and administration. These complaints might be preferred by officials or others. Misdeeds were reported to the duke by the council. If he refused to take measures to punish the crimes duly, his subjects were free to refuse obedience to him.

Both charter and council were heartily disliked by the later dukes, and, in 1332, John III. annulled the supervision of the officials over the charter. Later, the council was virtually shoved aside, and was never again potent, excepting temporarily in 1372. But the charter of Cortenburg did not end the matter. Two years later the young prince's inherited financial difficulties became pressing. The cities gave him assistance, but only on the condition of receiving new privileges. Two new charters were granted (1314): The first (Walloon), to be valid only until the sums advanced were repaid, placed the ducal domain and finances in the hands of the cities for six years, and also secured to them the right of co-operation in the appointment and removal of officials. The tax collectors and judges were bound to report their expenditures twice a month to the cities.

The second charter (Flemish) went further. It strengthened municipal and provincial privileges, forbade the sale of offices, stipulated that appropriations for the repair of roads should not be diverted to other purposes, and further provided that no coin should be minted except in the cities.

Nor was this all. The Golden Bull issued by Emperor Charles IV., in 1349, for Brabant, was decidedly to the advantage of the cities. It contained a provision that no inhabitant of Brabant or Limburg could be tried for any

offence in any imperial court outside the province—a very important measure of protection for merchants. This provision was found, to be sure, in the charters of other provinces, but Brabant could boast of one other charter far in advance of all others. John III. summoned deputies of the seven great and thirty-six small cities of Brabant and Limburg to meet at Louvain on March 8, 1354. He announced the marriage of his daughter Johanna to Wenzel of Luxemburg, and asked that the succession of his realm should be secured to them. His subjects were willing to sell their consent to their advantage, and the result was that John granted a liberal charter to Brabant, called *La Joyeuse Entrée*,¹ because it was proclaimed when Wenzel and Johanna made their formal entrance into Brussels as prince and princess of the land, and swore to maintain all the provisions of the document (1356). The most important of these provisions were: the territory was to remain undivided and undiminished; the seven good cities were to have charge of all documents relating to their privileges; no offensive war could be undertaken, no treaty framed, no inch of territory ceded, no coin minted, without the consent of the subjects. Trade must be free and subject to legal taxes alone. The duke was bound to keep the roads open and safe, to protect his subjects from arrest in foreign lands on account of his personal debts, to preserve peace between the Meuse and the Rhine, and to maintain existing treaties with Flanders and Liege. The members of the duke's council were to be natives, of legitimate birth. The officials of justice were to exercise their functions in person, and were subject to the supervision of the cities, except in ecclesiastical affairs. No Brabanter could bring suit against a compatriot in a foreign court. The duke himself was bound to obey the laws of the land. He had no right of pardon in case of murder, rape, or disturbance of a com-

¹ See Pouillet, *Histoire de la Joyeuse Entrée de la Brabant*.

mercial character. The right of feud was limited by truces for certain periods. The right of hunting, the rights of the clergy, the rights of those who under certain circumstances were only half free, such as the men of St. Peter at Louvain, whose relations to the church of their name and to the duke were regulated as of old—these were all more definitely indicated.

Such was the contents of the famous charter of Brabant, the pride of the Brabanters for centuries long. It was an object of envy to the inhabitants of the neighbouring provinces. It was honourably acquired and paid for, and curbed the power of the rulers of the land in both Brabant and Limburg down to the days of the great Revolution. Originally, the *Foyeuse Entrée* was intended to apply to Brabant only, Limburg possessing its own charter. But gradually that fell into disuse, and from the fifteenth century the charter of Brabant was considered valid for both provinces even in the days of Alva and Granvelle, in the most dangerous period of waxing monarchical power. It is true that it was somewhat changed under successive dukes, here and there its provisions being weakened; but from the time when homage was rendered to Philip II., in 1549, it underwent no change worth mentioning. It is always regarded as the bulwark of Netherland liberty and casts the Cortenberg and other charters wholly in the shade. The confirmation of the Cortenberg charter in 1372 was also little more than reorganisation of the council of 1312, whose power was more firmly established. It was stipulated, moreover, that both officials and municipal authorities must swear to maintain the charter and that no ducal officer could be member of the council. These were important points, but the whole older charter paled before the more important provisions of the *Foyeuse Entrée*. It must be remembered that it was not the guilds, but patrician families of the cities who obtained and maintained these rights. Hence, when they

grew overbearing, the prince turned to the guilds. In 1356, Louis of Flanders made an incursion into Brabant and received almost open aid from the city patricians, and the guilds made vigorous demonstrations in favour of Wenzel; at Brussels under the leadership of Everhard Tserclaes; at Louvain under William de Zadelaere, canon of St. Gertrude. Finally, one Peter Coutereel, a leader of the guilds in Brabant, became a ducal officer at Louvain, *Mayeur*, actual head of the government. For twenty years he had been in opposition to the patricians. Tserclaes at Brussels, in 1357, and Coutereel at Louvain, in 1360, made vigorous efforts to strengthen the guilds and to weaken the patrician influence in the municipal governments. The attempt failed in Brussels. Not so in Louvain. A bloodless revolution broke the power of the patricians. Coutereel was even called the Artevelde of Brabant, though he was in reality but a weak reflection of the Flemish patriot. Wenzel was appealed to. He confirmed the new democratic administration but made some concessions to the patricians.

A second rising in 1362 was more to the taste of the patricians. The duke again interfered and Coutereel and his followers were banished. The people's leader fled first to Liege, then to Holland, and finally to France and Germany. Later, however, he bought permission to return to his native city by promising to plot no more, and died in 1370 as good as forgotten. But democratic institutions remained in force at Louvain until 1372, after Wenzel's imprisonment. After his ransom by the patricians he was forced to yield to their demands.

In 1378, the revolt in Flanders awakened an echo in Brabant. The so-called "White Hoods," under one Walter of Leyden, attacked the municipal government of Louvain and the patricians were obliged to yield. This frightened Wenzel. He marched on Louvain and rescinded all the democratic provisions of 1360. Patricians,

well-to-do burghers, and guilds henceforth had nearly equal share in the government as in Flanders. Riots continued for a time. Walter of Leyden was murdered, the guilds sought revenge on the patricians, but finally peace was restored. Still Louvain never recovered; her prosperity was destroyed and she was henceforth a retrograding city.

Brussels and Mechlin suffered, too, from the democratic disturbances, and Antwerp began to rise in importance, reaping benefit from their misfortunes at the same time that the shallows in the Zwin were turning the trade of Bruges to her quays. She became the port whence not only the products of the lands along the Scheldt, but also those from the Meuse, were shipped to England, to the Baltic, and to France. Here, too, was the starting-point for navigation to and from the South. Trade with Cologne turned more and more in this direction, and hence the trade with all Germany. This development was really of advantage to all Brabant.

It was of great significance to the later history of the Netherlands that after Wenzel's death (1383) his widow, Johanna, was forced to depend on Burgundy for support in resisting the cities which made ever increasing demands. In 1388, they protested against the encroachments of a certain powerful noble, Zweder van Abcoude, lord of Gaesbeck. He was very rich, possessed a number of estates in the neighbourhood of Brussels, and attempted to wield a dominant influence there. This the city resisted, accepting the leadership of Everhard Tserclaes, who was, however, treacherously murdered by some of his antagonist's adherents. This act added flame to the fire. Brussels sought and obtained aid from the other cities in Brabant, the stronghold of Gaesbeck was stormed by the indignant populace and razed to the ground. The duchess was powerless to stem the tide of vengeance.

At the same time she was also involved in a contest with Jülich about Grave, which she was unable to settle. Therefore she asked help from the duke of Burgundy and only succeeded in maintaining her rights by his aid and by that of the French king. Almost immediately after Wenzel's death, Duke William of Guelders, son of the duke of Jülich, laid claim to Grave, in addition to some other estates. The contest over its provisions were long and sanguinary. Treaties were made and broken. Duke Albert of Holland and Hainaut, Richard II. of England, and the emperor, were all asked for aid by Guelders, gave promises, and left their ally in the lurch. Philip of Burgundy was a more efficient friend and saw, moreover, a future opening for his house. He aided Johanna of Brabant with all the resources at his command, which included the entire force of the minor king of France, then under his guardianship.

The year 1387 passed in slight encounters and parleys. In the following year a strong Brabantine-Burgundian force appeared before Grave, and was repulsed by Duke William at Ravestein. This was a slight to France to be avenged at any cost. So felt Philip; so felt the nobles. A French army, estimated at between sixty thousand and one hundred thousand men, made a toilsome journey through the Ardennes, avoiding Brabant, at the request of the duchess, to punish the young duke of Guelders for his English sympathies and his late insolent victory. The old duke of Jülich begged his son to submit to King Charles IV. who led the expedition in person, but William only proceeded to fortify his strongholds and to worry the invaders with the aid of some of the numerous bands of mercenary troops every ready for pay. The weather was unfavourable, the Jülich territory poor, and the French troops would have found subsistence difficult indeed, had not Johanna sent them supplies.

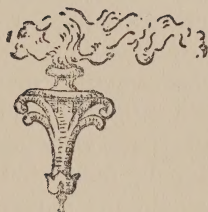
No regular battle was fought, but after some delay

Duke William yielded to the joint entreaties of his father and of the archbishop of Cologne, whose territories were suffering grievously from the plague of the French troops. Peace was made and Grave was delivered over to the king, who straightway transferred the city to Johanna, on the plea that the lords of Kuik had been vassals and it was through them that William had based his claim. On the following day William of Guelders appeared in the French camp without, however, humbling himself. A point had been gained but he was not conquered.

Duchess Johanna continued her rule over Brabant for eighteen years. It was through her mediation that the son and daughter of Duke Albert of Holland and Hainaut married the daughter and son of her great ally, Philip of Burgundy (1385). She, too, arranged the marriage of the young French king, and, as her relations with Burgundy grew closer, she was more and more alienated from the Luxemburg relations of her late husband. In 1389, she mortgaged certain territories of her duchy to Philip. A year later she revoked the deed which secured Brabant as an heritage to the house of Luxemburg, and declared her niece and her husband, the duchess and duke of Burgundy, as her heirs (September 28, 1390). She retained the usufruct of the duchy for life. Thus Brabant was united to Burgundy.

In 1396, Johanna gave Limburg to Philip on occasion of a visit to Paris, and at last, in 1404, she transferred her whole realm to the widow of the prince then deceased. On Johanna's death, accordingly, Anthony of Burgundy (December 1, 1404) was acknowledged by the estates of Brabant and Limburg as duke of Brabant under condition of maintaining the *Foyeuse Entrée*. The house of Luxemburg made a futile effort to prevent this, and with its failure lost forever its influence in Europe. In the confusion of the following years the new German king, Ru-

precht of the Palatinate, made no attempt to hinder the transference to Burgundy, and probably did not object to his rival's loss of power. Brabant and Limburg were lost to the empire and became an integral part of the waxing Burgundian monarchy.





CHAPTER XVII

POPULAR MOVEMENTS IN LIEGE

THE bishopric of Liege did not escape the democratic movement of the fourteenth century. The lower classes protested in one form or another against the dominance of those above them. Factions and party spirit were rife, not only within the cities but in the country where there were two factions, the Awans and the Waroux. The trouble seems to have originated at a wedding, in 1297, when a member of the house of Waroux married a serf of the family of the Awans, who protested against the transference of the property of their serf to the young noble. A feud arose which lasted a century and a half, and plunged the northern part of the diocese into a confusion which was frequently felt in the city itself. The Awans usually were allies of the guilds and the Waroux of the nobles.

The bishops were not powerful enough to suppress this turbulent party spirit even after their territorial importance was increased by the addition of Looz, on the extinction of the family who had held it as a fief in 1336. There were some protests from a cousin of the last count, Dirk of Heinsberg, and the chapter did not make good its claim finally until 1361. The country of Looz retained its own privileges. This gain was balanced by the loss of Mechlin, sold by the bishop and chapter to Flan-

ders in 1333. A feudal right was retained, which, however, speedily fell into oblivion.

The episcopal rulers of Liege did not prove good lords to their subjects. They gave as little thought to their successors as their predecessors had to them, and almost none to the flock under their charge. In the fourteenth century, during the residence of the popes at Avignon, the church was in the hands of the French king, and the chief prelates had free sway both in their realm and in their ecclesiastical life.

Some of the bishops took part with the guilds and some with the patrician families in the cities. Adolf de la Mark was forced to ask aid of the patricians and their friends, the Waroux, against the powerful guilds. He held the see for more than thirty years under continual revolts and civil disorders. It was said that he died in an access of rage at a revolt of the people of Liege (1345). His nephew and successor, Engelbert de la Mark, tried hard to strengthen the waning influence of the church. But neither he, nor John of Arkel, nor Arnold of Horn was able to regain the ancient ascendancy. Liege became practically a republic and the bishop's sovereignty counted for little.

Finally, a powerful man, John of Bavaria, mounted the episcopal throne. He was a son of Duke Albert of Holland, one of the Bavarian family which was closely allied to the house of Burgundy. His heavy hand was a foretaste of the pressure that was to come. Meantime civil liberty had gained a foothold in the land. Liege, Huy, Dinant were the chief towns, and in all these the guilds were in force. Liege was famous for its metal workers, Huy for its flourishing wool industries, Dinant for its copper work. The Flemish victory at Courtrai, in 1302, taught the lower class their numerical superiority, and they were not slow to use it.

In 1302, a certain noble went to the market at Liege

to collect a tax. The hand he stretched for the money was chopped off by a butcher's axe. A wild uproar ensued—people against patricians, with the sympathy of the bishop and the chapter of St. Lambert on the side of the former. Ecclesiastical authority made peace for brief periods, but the tumult would break out again and lasted for years, during which the city was terribly devastated, even the churches built in the thirteenth century suffering grievously. On August 13, 1312, the beautiful church of St. Martin was burned to the ground, and the day was long known as Evil St. Martin's. Hundreds of nobles lost their lives at the hands of the guild brethren during those wild years. The Awans and Waroux were at constant strife, until, finally, the Peace of Fexhe (June, 1315) established order by the mediation of the new bishop, Adolf de la Mark.

This peace was the foundation of Liege liberties. It was stipulated that ancient privileges of the city and land should never be violated; that the inhabitants should be sentenced by their own sheriffs; that episcopal officials should have the right to burn the houses of murderers, and should be empowered to imprison certain kinds of miscreants (thieves, pirates, etc.) as a preventive measure. Furthermore, the extent of the authority of the episcopal officials under the oversight of the chapter of St. Lambert was definitely arranged. The laws were not to be changed in the slightest particular without the joint consent of the bishop, chapter, nobles, and cities.

The administration of the law was the duty of the ruler and estates together, a fact that placed Liege in the first rank in the history of the development of the people. This peace was also important from the fact that it was the model for at least twenty more made during the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries between contending parties. The tendency was always in the same direction. Privileges and law were more clearly defined and

guarded by carefully erected bulwarks of defence. The liberties were nailed to the pillars of St. Lambert, hundreds of copies were taken and recorded according to the old legal terms of the *Paweilhars*—the ancient law books preserved in the archives of the patricians. Civil law, state law, criminal law, law of civil suits, administrative law—are all treated in the collection which forms a record of the laws in vogue in the bishopric to the end of the eighteenth century.

The chief feature was the abridgment of the power of the sovereign. Limitations were set to his right of pardon; the sale of offices was forbidden, something which had been done to a scandalous degree; confiscation of property was only allowed in stipulated cases; episcopal offices could only be bestowed on natives, who must swear to maintain the laws and privileges of the land and be able to speak three languages, French, Dutch, and Walloon. The bishop could not demand scot or toll money and could only ask for voluntary contributions. The bishop-elect had to give his oath on all these points, besides one to maintain the existing laws and privileges, to the dean of the chapter who can be regarded as the protector of the popular rights from 1271 (Peace of Huy). But the four great cities did not think that the dean took a strong enough stand against the bishop. In 1343, they took matters into their own hands and forced Bishop Adolf de la Mark to consent to the establishment of the court of XXII whose members were chosen by the chapter, nobles, and cities for the maintenance of the privileges. This court speedily fell into disuse, but John of Arkel was forced to reinstate it in 1373, and from that time its existence was assured. The cities had fourteen representatives to the four apiece of the other two bodies, and thus were paramount in the college. They limited the dangerous right of private feud and finally abolished it. They obtained a share in the nomination of the *mambour* who

ruled during a vacancy, and they had a decisive vote in making treaties and in legislation. In the cities the democracy gained ground continually. After the Evil St. Martin's, the Peace of Angleur (1313) strengthened the guilds in Liege by giving them a share with the patricians in the municipal government. Adolf de la Mark tried to hold the guilds in check by a new regulation (1331) whereby the guilds could only be convened by the council and their jurisdiction limited to three points: a call of militia, imposition of taxes, raising of loans. He tried to weaken their influence by prescribing a choice of the council in three degrees. But the troubles of 1343 overturned these restrictions and restored the right of free assembly under the guild deacons with permission to discuss political affairs freely.

The thirty-two guilds (in 1297 they had only numbered twelve) thus again became influential in the city under John of Arkel. Finally the patricians renounced the right they had enjoyed of nominating half the magistrates, and a guild democracy, such it was, virtually, began its rule, and the guilds had control over the city government consisting of two burgomasters and a council of sixty-four.

There was the same course of events at Huy, at Dinant, at St. Truyen (Geertruidenberg). In 1348, a constitution was adopted at Dinant which placed the municipal administration in the hands of the three classes of the population, the patricians, the small guilds, and the braziers. The guilds were powerful but the city nobles were not wholly shoved aside. In Huy and Geertruidenberg the weavers and other guilds did not become all supreme until the beginning of the fifteenth century.

In 1390, John of Bavaria, a youth of ill-governed temper, warlike tastes, neither spiritual nor intellectual and not even an ordained priest, was made prelate. He was, moreover, only seventeen years old. The problem proved beyond his power. In a brief space of time he was at his

wits' end, and turned in despair to his kinsman of Burgundy, John the Fearless. The city of Liege rose in arms; the party of *Haydroits* was formed against this most unpopular and unsuitable prince of the church, and the unfortunate ruler fled to Diest (1393). There was an attempt at accommodation and he returned; but he soon gave proofs that the youth had developed into an ambitious and overweening man, and the enmity against him increased. The *Haydroits* found adherents in other cities of the diocese. In 1403, the prelate was again obliged to leave his see and only by dint of energetic measures did he succeed in allaying the risings of the populace. A revolt in 1406 was more serious. He was not only chased out of Liege and besieged in Maestricht, but Dirk Van Horne was raised to the episcopal dignity in his stead.

Then John the Fearless of Burgundy, and William of Holland and Hainaut, came to the aid of their kinsman. The Liegeois took the field against them fifteen thousand strong under their *mambour*, the lord of Perwez, and were defeated at Othee (September 23, 1408). The bishop returned to his see three days later and took fearful revenge on his unhappy subjects. The very deputies sent to offer peace were executed. Many were thrown into neighbouring quarries. Others were bound back to back and drowned in the Meuse and many more were beheaded. Thus the bitter indignation of John the Merciless against his subjects was appeased.

Other cities paid heavy fines for aiding Liege. By a resolution (October 14, 1408) adopted by the three princes at Lille, all the charters and privileges of the land were ordered to be submitted for examination. No new right was to be granted in the future without the consent of the princes of Burgundy and Hainaut and their successors. All deacons, jurymen, burgomasters either representing a guild or the community, however they might be designated, were removed from office. Henceforth in all Liege

there were to be bailiffs or provosts appointed by the sovereign. The bishop was to have the nomination of the sheriffs in every city, who were to be responsible to him alone. Guilds and brotherhoods were exterminated; their very banners, the burghers' pride, were given up. Councils and the right to popular assembly were abolished and all co-operation among the cities forbidden except by express permission of the bishop.

Thus the province of Liege was brought under the complete mastery of the bishop, thanks to the Burgundian duke, glad to extend his influence to the region of the Meuse.

The will of the three allies was not, however, completely carried out. Emperor Sigismund did not like this extension of Burgundian power. In his journey of 1417 he obtained the return of privileges to city and provinces. Various guilds, too, asserted themselves and secured back their old rights. Still the punishments inflicted were sufficient to suppress any democratic agitation in the diocese for many years to come, even though the Liegeois were freed from one hated master by the bishop's departure in 1417 to seek a new crown in Holland. But the hand of Burgundy was not withdrawn. The bishops were henceforth dependent on the dukes. The terrible revolt of 1408 was only one of a long succession which played havoc with the industries of the Meuse cities. The war begun by a John without Fear and a John without Mercy was to be ended by a Charles the Bold.





CHAPTER XVIII

LUXEMBURG AND NAMUR

LUXEMBURG was an extensive and sparsely inhabited province, remote from the thoroughfares of the times, the great rivers, and unfitted by its forests and mountains for good highways. Indeed the road between Metz and Aix-la-Chapelle was the only good means of communication through the region. The one important city, Luxemburg, was famous for its incomparably strong position on a point of rock rising from the valley of the Alzette, but had no industries except those absolutely necessary for the needs of the country population. It lay on the one highway above mentioned, but was in truth little more than a vast fortress in which the neighbouring peasants could take refuge. Arlon on the idyllic Semoy was simply a collection of a few houses nestled under the shadow of the fortress, and little La Roche on the wild Ourthe was still less important. The Semoy, Ourthe, Alzette, Sure—such were the streams in whose pretty valleys the sparse population was to be found. In the south-east, the Moselle flowed through Luxemburg territory between Metz and Treves, and made Diedenhofen or Thionville a stronghold of some importance. But the Moselle trade passed by, and an attempt to raise a toll failed by reason of the opposition of the neighbouring cities.

On the picturesque points of high land were reared the

castles of the native nobles, veritable nests of birds of prey, about which cluster the legends of the four Heemskinder, sagas well known throughout the Netherlands. Here, too, linger the memories of the feuds of the Lorraines, of the boar hunt of the Begge, and of Fromond's contest with the Saracens; of the marvellous steed Bayard, gifted with human understanding; of the drunken Renard of Montalban and of the marvellous adventures of the valiant Maleghijs. The owners of these dominant castles were more powerful than their brothers in the flat agricultural or commercial territories, and the scanty peasant population was kept in subordination.

Froissart has left us a picture of the condition of the country in his sketch of the passage of the French through Luxemburg to Jülich in 1388. Two thousand workmen were sent ahead through the woods by Chimay and Neufchâteau to prepare the way for the army and to make the ground passable for the twelve thousand baggage waggons. Past the old cloister of Orval whose picturesque ruins are still to be seen, the army pressed on under great difficulties, making barely a couple of miles a day, toward Bastogne, through the passes of the wild Ardennes, only inhabited by herds of wild deer and a few charcoal burners. Still more difficult was the return passage in mid-October, when the mountain streams were swollen with rain, the rocks smooth and slippery, the roads well-nigh impassable. The Ardennes nobles seized the opportunity to harry the troops; kidnap stragglers for the sake of a ransom, and to capture the waggons filled with booty.

Naturally in this region there was no question of guild agitations in favour of popular liberty, of democracy, of self-government. Yet Luxemburg, too, played her part in the fourteenth century, owing to her rulers. The most famous of her counts was Henry V., known by his imperial title of Henry VII. from the house of Luxemburg.

He won his reputation from his successful contests with his robber barons, and gained his dignity against formidable candidates. He attempted to re-establish the German kingship in Italy, and Dante sang the fame of the German "Arrigo." Both he and his wife, Margaret of Brabant, excited great personal admiration wherever they appeared. The Ghibelines received him with enthusiasm as a saviour destined to free Italy from unhappy party strife, and, in 1312, he was crowned emperor at Rome. But by that date the climate, deadly to northerners, had slain many of his brilliant train, as well as his wife. In August, 1313, he followed her, and lies buried at Pisa.

His only son John had married Elizabeth, heiress of Bohemia, and this union was no advantage to the lesser realm. John, king of Bohemia in right of his wife, went from one feud to another, from adventure to adventure, from tournament to tournament, and was one of the staunchest allies of the new German king, Louis of Bavaria. His noble figure appeared within the borders of Italy, Poland, France, and Germany. Even his later day blindness did not reduce him to inactivity. In 1346, he perished in the battle of Crécy, where he had insisted on being led into the thickest of the fray. His sympathy was all for France, but his device has obtained a permanent place in the coat of arms of the heir to the English throne. On the day of Crécy, the prince of Wales, the famous Black Prince, adopted *Ich dien* from the crest of this fallen hero, and that simple legend has served the princes of Wales from that day.

Owing to his infirmity, John could not be a candidate for the imperial dignity, but his son Charles was elected king of the Romans in 1346, and in the following year succeeded Louis of Bavaria without opposition. Charles was one of the most learned princes of the day, one of the greatest statesmen, but he cared little for Luxemburg, though he changed it to a duchy with the approval

of the electors and princes assembled at Metz (March, 1354). He only governed it in behalf of his half-brother Wenzel, to whom the territory had been made over; some consideration was given to the people, inasmuch as it was decreed in a Golden Bull that the free inhabitants of the new duchy should never be arrested on account of the duke's debts.

As we have already seen, the marriage of Duke Wenzel to Johanna of Brabant united the two duchies under one rule. In 1364, the countship of Chimay was added by purchase. Wenzel, moreover, obtained from his imperial brother the governorship of Alsace. Thus there were made the beginnings of a dynastic strength which the emperor expected to find most useful. Luxemburg in the west, Bohemia in the east were to be his strongholds; but the plan failed pitifully.

Charles chose Prague as his chief residence, and left home affairs to the care of his brother, whom he made imperial vicar. Wenzel exerted himself to the utmost to preserve the domestic tranquillity of the empire, and was the soul of the alliance for the maintenance of peace whose object was to put an end to lawlessness in the region between the Meuse and the Rhine.

It was a bad outlook for security to person and property. The robber barons plundered the passing travellers to their heart's content, fought out their feuds, and gave each other no peace. The emperor, wise and statesman-like but not very powerful, urged princes and cities to make treaties of mutual defence. Duke Wenzel gave his heartiest co-operation to the effort to destroy robber strongholds and to punish freebooters. A treaty was made including Duke Wenzel, the duchess of Jülich, the archbishop of Cologne, the lords of Valkenburg, and others. From 1351 to 1387 this compact had some effect towards accomplishing the desired end.

But the capture of Wenzel at Baesweiler in the battle

against the duke of Jülich, other feuds which came to open hostility, and lack of leadership in the confederation, show that times were not yet ripe for such peace alliances or that the princes were not sufficiently powerful. Nor did the situation improve with the death of the first duke without direct heirs.

A deed of succession (1357) had provided that the duchy should fall to the children of the Emperor Charles in case of this event. Wenzel, king of the Romans, therefore became duke of Luxemburg. But his interest was in Bohemia, not in his western territory. As soon as he had received homage, he abandoned Luxemburg to its fate, which did not prove a happy one. The kinsman whom he appointed stadtholder gave no heed to the interests of the province, and the real sovereign was too weak to protect it from a distance. No wonder then that the king of France marched unchecked across the hapless territory in 1388, leaving distress in the wake of his army even though there were no open hostilities.

The family were degenerate both mentally and physically and the single marriageable princess was Elizabeth of Gorlitz, daughter of Duke John, Wenzel's brother. In 1409, she married Anthony of Burgundy, the new duke of Brabant and Limburg. Wenzel had been forced to resign his title of king of the Romans, and was nothing more than king of Bohemia. He was quite ready to renounce his rights in Luxemburg to his niece provided that she redeemed it from the Margrave Joost of Moravia, to whom he had mortgaged the land. This was done, and thus Luxemburg and Brabant were again united as in the days of Duke Wenzel and Duchess Johanna. This marriage, too, caused Luxemburg to be comprised in the circle of Burgundian influence, though another generation passed before it became a definite part of Burgundian territory.

In the midst of these changes the little cities of Lux-

emburg succeeded, occasionally, in having some word in the course of events, and gradually they obtained certain privileges already enjoyed by cities of neighbouring provinces.

Namur, the other countship bordering on Liege, was more sensitive than Luxemburg to the democratic spirit prevalent in the fourteenth century. It was situated on the Sambre and the Meuse, river-ways of commerce, in the midst of a region most important in industry, rich in quarries and in iron-mines.

Slowly, very slowly and gradually, did the guilds of Namur succeed in gaining participation in the municipal government. In the second half of the fourteenth century, notably in 1451, we find certain guild disturbances in Namur. The result was the admission of the "elect"—deacons of the guild—into the administration, side by side with the count's officials and the representatives of the citizens.

In 1403, there were two of these persons, one chosen by the citizens and distinguished by the name of burgo-master, the other by the guilds which had apparently been established there about half a century on the ordinary basis.

The counts of Namur had little influence in the history of the Netherlands. They were descendants of the eldest son by the second marriage of Guy of Dampierre, count of Flanders. They were valiant knights, brilliant in tourney and in field. Count William the Rich (1337-1391) extended his territory, developed industry and commerce in his realm, and won personal renown on many a battle-field. Under his rule guild agitations occurred in his capital. The last count of Namur from the house of Dampierre, John III., found himself suffering under a very heavy burden of debt contracted by his predecessors in their effort to maintain the state due to reigning princes. He was forced to ask the duke of Burgundy for aid to

escape his creditors, and his rich neighbour was willing to help him clear his debts by purchasing the countship for a considerable sum (1420).

Count John retained a life interest in and ruled Namur until his death, submitting, however, entirely to Burgundian will and accepting the duke's garrison in his most important stronghold. When this wretched descendant of the proud Dampierres died, the countship was added to Flanders for good and all (1429). Thus Namur went to increase the possessions of the waxing house of Burgundy, just then represented by the crafty duke, Philip the Good.





CHAPTER XIX

HAINAUT IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

THE true position of Hainaut in the history of the Netherlands has rarely been understood.

Historians of Holland, even those of the fourteenth century, have treated it as subordinated to the northern province, while, in point of fact, it took a high rank in the history of Western Europe. In 1299, the two were united under one ruler. No two territories could have been more different in character. In Holland, the population was mainly burgher and peasant, while Hainaut was the very last stronghold of the feudal nobility with all the virtues and with all the faults of chivalry. Spurs of the Ardennes made Hainaut hilly and unfit for agriculture, while the picturesque points of jagged rock offered many a tempting site for castles which could command the surrounding country from a craggy and easily defended height. The forests offered extensive hunting grounds. Commerce had almost no foothold; the mines were not exploited till a late date, and manufacture was not established until the fourteenth century, and then was a protected industry fostered by the counts. Cloth was made in Mons, Ath, Binche, and Chièvres, but the cloth-makers evinced no desire for independence as did their Flemish brethren. In Valenciennes alone there was a democratic movement. It failed, and the city was forced to beg mercy of John II. before the union of the

provinces, and was little heard from in the fourteenth century. While the commerce of Holland was steadily gaining and her merchants were making the cities a power which could not be ignored by her rulers, the people in Hainaut remained unknown while her nobles were renowned throughout Europe, and proudly maintained their feudal state, feudal sentiment, and feudal manners.

The flat, prosperous, liberty-loving merchant state on the North Sea and this hilly inland province with its population still cowed by the dominant nobles, were united under a ruler of the house of Avesnes when the family of the counts of Holland became extinct in 1299. But the two never grew into one land as did Brabant and Limburg. Their sovereign was the only bond of union between them, the passionate Walloons on the Sambre and the calm Frisian-Frankish traders and peasants on the coast between the Scheldt and the Vlie. It is more convenient, therefore, to keep their social histories apart.

Count William I. of Hainaut (1304-1337) was prominent in European politics, acting frequently as mediator, being brother-in-law to the king of France, father-in-law to the king of England and to the emperor. His son, William II., was also an adventurous prince, led many an expedition against Prussians and Moors, and was offered the imperial crown, though he never attained his father's reputation. He fell at Staveren in a battle against the Frisians (1345), where many more brave Hainauters lost their lives.

His uncle John, lord of Beaumont, was then sole surviving prince of the house of Avesnes. The romantic story of his life throws a light on the conditions in Hainaut in the fourteenth century. It was the time when Isabella of England was at war with her weak husband, Edward II. She finally fled across the sea with her young son, and was hospitably received by Count William of Hainaut. John of Beaumont was completely captivated

by her beauty, by her charm, and by her misfortunes, constituted himself her champion, sailed back to England with her and a brilliant company of nobles three hundred strong, and aided her in deposing her husband and placing her son on the English throne as Edward III. As a fitting acknowledgment of this signal service the young king married Philippa of Hainaut, daughter of Count William I., and Beaumont was a constant adviser and mediator for the sovereign whose cause he had aided.

At the death of William II. without issue, his sister, the Empress Margaret, was his heir, and Beaumont became a valiant champion of her rights and, when she was acknowledged, supporter of her second son, William of Bavaria, whom she appointed regent of the provinces in her behalf. Beaumont was made stadtholder of Hainaut, became an ally of France, and actually fought in the battle of Crécy against his ancient *protégé*, Edward III. *Ainsi messire Jean de Hainaut demeura Français tout son vivant*, says Froissart.

Matters did not run smoothly between Margaret and her son. Beaumont's services were demanded as a mediator, and the reconciliation of 1354 was his work. Two years later both he and the empress died. Beaumont's rich estates passed to the French house of Blois by right of his only daughter. Margaret's second son, William, inherited the land over which he had ruled in behalf of his mother, as it had been stipulated that the Netherland provinces were never to be united to the empire, and the brave house of Avesnes was extinct.

The new count of Holland and Hainaut had brought a fatal inheritance from his paternal Bavarian race. Two years after his accession, insanity declared itself, and he was shut up in the castle of Quesnoy, where he spent thirty years before death relieved him from his hereditary curse and from confinement. Meanwhile his younger brother Albert administered the government as ruward, not

without protest from Margaret's eldest son Louis. The details of the contest between the brothers are lost. All that is certain is that Louis renounced his pretensions in June, 1358. Edward III. of England also laid claim to the estates of Avesnes in behalf of his wife Philippa, claims which he did not renounce until 1372, but which alienated Albert and made him sympathise with France against England. The ultimate fate of Hainaut was sealed by the marriage of Albert's son and daughter to the daughter and son of Philip the Bold, and the way was paved for the admission of Hainaut into the Burgundian circle.

The princes of the house of Avesnes and Bavaria lived by turn in Hainaut and Holland, but by the time of William II., Holland was the capital of the common lord. The count went about twice a year to his southern province, and left its administration at other times to the grand bailiff. This officer was, usually, a noble Hainauter. He was chief judge, appointed the officials, directed the finances, and was commander-in-chief of the feudal army, and was, virtually, independent. Under William II. and Margaret, John of Beaumont held the office, and the dynasty incurred no danger from the power of the bailiff.

It was quite otherwise under Albert who appointed the great Hainaut noble, Sohier van Engiens, to this important post. Here, too, details are lacking, and we only know that matters came to open war between bailiff and lord, which lasted two years. In later times Albert's eldest son, Count William of Ostervant (later William IV.) held the office, and under him its independence was strengthened. Thus Hainaut and Holland really always enjoyed a separate government both under the houses of Avesnes and of Bavaria.

Meanwhile the cities of Hainaut began to grow powerful in proportion as the nobles lost ground. The very battles in which they gained honour were their destruc-

tion; and the flower of Hainaut chivalry was left on the battle-fields to which their prowess and love of adventure had led them.

William I. favoured the cities. He not only furthered the cloth industry, but removed all taxes from it. He broke the power of the city aristocracy by establishing yearly elections of sheriffs. He began to give privileges to the Jews. Albert, also, favoured the cities, and contributed to their prosperity.

At about the end of the century, the cities began to take part in political affairs, and, especially, in the imposition of taxes. This was a distinct blow at feudalism, and Hainaut, too, was launched in the struggle for civil rights. In 1386, Mons obtained from Albert a confirmation of its old privileges, and twenty-four years later had its law codified for the first time. In 1396, the privileges of Valenciennes were greatly increased. Thus, finally, Hainaut was swept into the stream of progress manifest everywhere in the fourteenth century.

Nevertheless, the old traditions remained in force for a long time. About 1400, Count William IV.¹ (VI.) played a part in the French civil wars as ally of the king, and was accompanied abroad by his lords, weakened as they were. He entrusted his daughter Jacqueline to the Hainaut nobility to be brought up in the noble customs and the chivalrous spirit which distinguished them from men and women of the other provinces. With devoted fidelity Hainaut protected her and her mother for years from their crafty kinsman, Philip of Burgundy.

Here this last offspring of the house of Bavaria, the last of the feudal princes of the Netherlands in the true sense of the word, found their most devoted servants, their most faithful knights, the true descendants of the loyal Hainauters whose praise has been sung by their con-

¹ The numbers are for the countships of Holland and Hainaut, respectively.

temporary Froissart in the work which he, Sire Jehan Froissart, native of the county of Hainaut and the beautiful and coquettish city of Valenciennes, laid at the feet of his mistress, the noble dame, Philippa of Hainaut, queen of England.





CHAPTER XX

HOLLAND AND ZEALAND UNDER THE HOUSES OF HAINAUT AND BAVARIA

THE history of Holland is especially worthy of note in an account of the people of the Netherlands from the fact that, from the fourteenth century, the cities exercised a preponderant weight, pushing the influence of the nobles and of the clergy to the background; and this has been the direction in which the Netherland people have steadily advanced since the end of the sixteenth century.

William III., the second Hainaut prince who ruled over the two provinces between the Zwin and Vlie, was vigorous enough to hold the nobles in check and clever enough to understand the real power of the cities. Tradition shows the devotion of the people to his memory, and he was known as William the Good. Though frequently obliged to impose heavy taxes on account of his wars, he did not alienate the affection of his subjects. The story that the Hollanders once brought him ten thousand crowns (*schilden*) when he only asked for one thousand is hardly authentic; but such legends show something.

He was, indeed, no weak sovereign. It was his hand which regulated permanently the inter-relations of Holland and Zealand. He was invested by the emperor with the sovereignty of all Friesland west of the Lauwers

which he had subdued. His many differences with the duke of Brabant were finally settled by the marriage of their children. He exercised influence in the affairs of Utrecht through his uncle Guy, the bishop; he held Amstel, Woerden, and Mechlin for a time, while in Guelders he was arbiter between the count and his cities. No previous count of Holland had had his reputation. His festivities, especially one tournament held in Haarlem, attracted brilliant throngs of guests to Holland; without his provinces he was held in such esteem that, in 1318, he was appointed preserver of the peace in the Rhinelands where he destroyed several robber strongholds. There were, moreover, many other occasions in which he played an important part as friend or foe of emperor or king.

His administration was also important for the domestic history of his realm. He divided Holland and Zealand into a great number of stewardships (*rent meesterschappen*), arranged for the establishment and maintenance of regular accounts and registers, and for a regular chancery.¹ In short, William III. was by far the most capable sovereign who had ever had his seat in the Binnenhof at the Hague.

Nobles, peasants, and cities were all held in check; all felt the pressure of his iron hand. When the Kennemers tried to wrest new privileges from him on occasion of a tribute, he answered their demands by taking away the liberties which they already proudly enjoyed, to the great satisfaction of the Kennemer nobles, and of the burghers of Dordrecht. In Zeeland he suppressed a revolt among the nobles, and in Friesland he protected the peasants against the Holland nobles.

A contemporary charges him with absenteeism and with undue meddling in foreign affairs, but the same historian agrees with his younger contemporary, Philip of Leyden,

¹ Van Reimsdyk, *De Registers van Gerard Alewijnsz* (Versl. en Meded. Kon. Akad. vii., 124 *et seq.*).

that the land was remarkably prosperous in spite of the fact that it suffered seriously, just at that time, from frequent floods. Hildegærdsberch, too, at the end of the century, testifies to the general prosperity existing in both town and country in Holland and Zealand.

During the count's absence, the government of Holland was administered by William van Duivenvoorde, that of Zealand by the count's son, later William IV. The elevation of the former to so much power was very distasteful to the other nobles, and the foundation was laid for later quarrels.

William IV. proved to be a restless, ambitious prince. He was involved in nearly every war of his time, his realm, meanwhile, enjoying a fair amount of peace, under the rule of his father's favourite, William van Duivenvoorde.

There were frequent troubles with unpacified Friesland; there were petty wars, too, with other neighbours, as the bishopric of Utrecht. Beka, the historian, probably an eye-witness, says that William IV. laid siege to Utrecht accompanied by one duke, thirteen counts, fifty-two barons, one thousand three hundred knights, and twenty-eight thousand picked men. It was remarkable that the episcopal city held out for six weeks. Then the burghers were not subdued but were persuaded by the bishop, who returned from France, to come to terms and to take part in William's projected expedition against Friesland. This finally took place in 1345, and resulted most disastrously for the count. All the boats available were pressed into the service to take the invaders across the Zuyder Zee to the Frisian coast, but a violent storm scattered them on their passage. It chanced that John of Beaumont, William's uncle, coming from the south, had just met a defeat near the cloister of St. Adolf, and narrowly escaped with his life, when Count William landed at Sta-veren, ignorant of his kinsman's defeat. He fell upon

the Frisians flushed with their victory. Wearied as they were, they made a vigorous resistance. An arrow hit the count's head, and he died on the very spot where his ancestors had been in the habit of holding court. His body was not found until ten days later, when it was buried in the Frisian cloister of Bloemkamp.

Hainaut, Holland, and Zealand were plunged into the deepest mourning. The evil tidings were carried to the unhappy countess who had given her husband no children. Thus the count's eldest sister, the Empress Margaret, suddenly became heiress to her brother's rich heritage. The death of William IV. was the signal for the outbreak of open hostilities between the two great parties of nobles. A civil war ensued, and the outlook was dark for the provinces. Edward III. made claims to the countship in behalf of his wife Philippa, the count's second sister, and danger menaced from all sides. The Frisians harried the coast, Bishop John of Utrecht invaded the regions adjacent to the bishopric, plundering and burning as he went. The Hainaut party attacked Zierikzee and Dordrecht. The nobles began to take advantage of the general state of confusion to fight out their private feuds, while in Zealand a strong sympathy was evinced for the English king, who hastened his preparations to land there in the hope of being acknowledged as sovereign.

Thus throughout the provinces there was domestic strife and foreign war, plunder and fire, besides a terrible new calamity, the Black Death, which raged through Europe, and did not spare the provinces. Owing to the indescribable confusion of the period many records and accounts of both city and state were lost, or we should have a clearer picture of the times than we can glean from the chronicles. A true history of the effect of this frightful epidemic would be very interesting, but we know little more than the fact that victims fell by thousands.

“ Forests of despair ” is the phrase by which William van Hildegaerdsberch characterises the history of those dreary days. Emperor Louis, with the help of Beaumont who took affairs in hand, assumed the heritage of the late count in behalf of his wife, William’s eldest sister (January, 1346). Margaret appeared in Hainaut in March, where she received homage promptly. Later she was recognised in Holland and Zealand. At first she restored order, possibly with the help of the French king, who feared England’s gaining a foothold on the continent. She promised to keep the provinces intact, confirmed ancient privileges and acceded to new ones, with the approval of her husband and co-operation of John of Beaumont. She also opened negotiations with Edward of England, and averted the danger of an invasion of Zealand.

The summer passed, and the emperor began to demand the return of his wife. Being anxious to preserve the Netherlands for his family, he urged Margaret to appoint their second son as heir to her paternal heritage. This plan was acceded to in a meeting of nobles and cities at Geertruidenberg, September 24th. William of Bavaria was made stadtholder for his mother, to succeed her later as sovereign. His elder brother, Louis, renounced his rights, although the Netherlands apparently would have preferred him to the sixteen-year-old youth whom they felt it was wise to accept under the circumstances.

Confusion became worse confounded in Holland and Zealand under the new government, which soon showed its weakness. The bishop of Utrecht and the Frisians renewed their hostile attacks party spirit ran high in the provinces; the nobles were very restless; anarchy was rife; while the burden of debt became heavier and heavier. When Emperor Louis died suddenly in 1347, the young prince was left in a very difficult and unprotected position.

William van Hildegærdsberch accuses the nobles of bringing into being the first parties which rent Holland in twain. "Be ye but reconciled and all will be well" he cries to them. The situation became more critical when the two brothers-in-law of the empress, Edward of England and Margrave William of Jülich, allied themselves with the arch enemy of the Bavarian family, Charles IV., the new king of Germany. All these circumstances induced the empress to resign Holland, Zeeland, and Friesland to her son. In Hainaut, however, he was to remain only stadtholder, as above related. In compensation for the cession of the northern provinces, the empress was to receive a yearly income of six thousand Florentine gold guilders and a gift of fifteen thousand gold guilders besides, to pay her debts. Other stipulations were made, as, for example, the maintenance of her friends in their posts.

The conditions made the completion of the cession difficult. Neither Beaumont nor the cities were willing to accept the demands of the empress. Dordrecht, Rotterdam, Schiedam, and Delft, which was dependent on the first named city, swore fealty to the young duke without promising anything more until Margaret should arrive in Holland. A few other places and many other nobles followed their example. Thus the matter was left with a loose screw; but William began to call himself count, and to act as such, until the empress finally decided to come from Bavaria to settle matters in person.

In Hainaut she learned that in Holland and Zeeland a number of disaffected cities and nobles had formed a compact in opposition to the council of nobles, appointed before her departure, and had mutually promised to acknowledge William as count without further reference to her. It was furthermore reported that the castles of her followers had fallen. Curiously we find the old opponents of Margaret now become her supporters. She sum-

moned young William to Quesnoy, and had an interview with him, April 30, 1350, in the presence of Beaumont and the council of Hainaut. William acknowledged that he was in the wrong, and begged forgiveness. Later he went to Holland with his mother, and in September placed all his rights solemnly in her hands at Geertruidenberg.

The presence of the sovereign in Holland was rendered necessary by the growing pretensions of all the cities, especially of Delft, and by the contentions among the nobles, and by the danger menacing Holland from Utrecht. The disaffected nobles had sought aid from the bishop, and had joined him in plundering and sacking the Hague. When the empress appeared, this party of nobles, who had assumed the title of the Hooks,¹ and were led by William of Duivenvoorde, Dirk of Brederode, and John of Polanen, offered their services to her. They had been members of the first council and the opponents of Delft and their allies, the Cods, who had gathered around the young prince. William, however, had another fit of repentance, and made another formal demand of pardon from his mother before a solemn gathering of the council and inhabitants of South Holland and Dort.

Danger seemed averted. William was sent to Hainaut with Beaumont, while the empress betook herself to Zealand to establish order there. She succeeded in doing this at Zierikzee, where she appointed her uncle stadtholder. But as she made conditions in regard to the jurisprudence which did not please Beaumont, he refused her offer and returned with the young duke to Hainaut.

In the meanwhile, Delft had again revolted and, at the advice of Gerard van Harlaer, William placed himself at

¹ The origin of the party names, *Hooks* and *Cods*, is obscure. It is possible that the Cods (*Kabeljauwschen*), the party of Duke William, took their name from the light blue, scaly looking Bavarian coat of arms. Their opponents may have assumed the name of Hooks, signifying that they could catch the Cods.

the head of the disaffected party and again assumed the title of count.

The empress was very wroth at this new unfilial act, and summoned to her assistance her oldest son, Louis, who had long since renounced his rights in the provinces. Furthermore, she asked and found help from Edward III., while William allied himself with the bishop of Utrecht and prepared to repel the threatened invasion of the English.

Thus mother and son stood arrayed against each other. Attempts at negotiations failed. Edward actually sent over his fleet and defeated William at Veere in May. Six weeks later the fleet entered the Meuse to subdue Holland. On July 4th, a sanguinary battle was fought between Vlaardingen and Brill, in which William finally obtained the victory, though his loss was heavy. This was decisive. The empress was forced to leave Zealand and take refuge in Hainaut, and English mediation was her only hope. Her followers were banished, many of their castles destroyed, and their property and offices given to others. Soon she betook herself to England, and placed the three strongholds that her party still possessed in Holland—Geertruidenberg, the fortress Vreeland on the Amstel, and Heemskerk in Kennemerland—in the hands of the king (December, 1351).

William roundly refused to accede to his mother's demands; negotiations lasted for months, and no result was reached. The young count finally obtained aid from a quarter where he had least expected it. Edward III. broke off his friendly relations with the empress and allied himself with William, who betrothed himself to the king's niece, Matilda of Lancaster, and shortly afterwards wedded her.

Margaret, thus bereft of English help, returned to her faithful Hainaut. There were new attempts at hostilities. All failed of effectiveness, and after long years a last re-

conciliation was made between mother and son at Mons, in Hainaut (December 7, 1354). William agreed to pay his mother a large sum down and an annuity. He was recognised as count of Holland and Zealand, and she as countess of Hainaut. The prisoners on both sides were to be freed, and both were to forgive and forget all that had passed. In reality a more decisive settlement was at hand. Eighteen months later (July, 1356), the empress died at Quesnoy, and William was free to enjoy the heritage of all the disputed territory.

He had but brief enjoyment of his victory. In the autumn of 1357 he paid a visit to England. Scarcely had he returned when he began to show signs of insanity. His condition grew so serious that his wife, after consultation with his council, and with the count's own consent, appointed his brother, young Duke Albert, as ruward. He arrived in the Netherlands in February, 1358, with a brave retinue of Bavarian nobles, and was recognised as his brother's substitute, in the spring in Holland and Zealand, and in the autumn in Hainaut. The unhappy invalid, the mad duke, was confined in the Hague. Later, he was taken to the strong fortress of Quesnoy in Hainaut, where he dragged out a miserable existence for thirty-one years. Many thought this was a judgment on the duke for his unfilial behaviour to his mother, and others hinted at poison administered to him in England.

During the period of peace in the time of William III. the cities made great strides in prosperity and power. The sovereigns depended on them for loans in case of need—no unfrequent contingency—and in return for the loans he was forced to make concessions. Moreover, he steadily furthered manufacture and commerce in his realm wherever he could. At the same time he managed to keep a heavy pressure upon the cities. Even Dordrecht was completely under his thumb, although in the thirteenth century it had been strong enough to obtain staple

right of the region, besides the more important provision that all merchandise carried on the Meuse and Lek should be taken thither to market—a supremacy very galling to the other cities of Holland and Zeeland and which remained, indeed, an apple of discord for more than two centuries long. The poverty of William IV. and the contentions in the Bavarian family were circumstances most favourable to the development of the cities. The prodigal count petitioned for money again and again, the two parties which arose after his death vied with each other in offering privileges which should bind the cities to their side. Finally the cities as a whole, though there were intra-mural party strifes too, were the pillars of the Cod party—and had supported the son with usurped power rather than the weaker mother with legitimate rights.

In leaving a provisional government during an absence in England, William appointed several municipal representatives in the council he left in charge. We need not be surprised, therefore, when we find that in comparison with the country, the Holland and Zeeland cities enjoyed extensive rights and monopolies of brewery, of corn trade, of market and mintage, and when we find enormous advances in self-government.

But privileges were also granted to people in the country. The farm-land of Holland was by far the most privileged region of the North. The basis was the Frisian law that once prevailed from the Vlie to the Zwin, and had been modified in many particulars, possibly through the Frankish conquest in the eighth century, and certainly by the lordship of the count changing into sovereign power two centuries later. In general the law of Holland and Zeeland in later times, was the Frankish law, with here and there some Frisian features. The rights of the freeborn, of the *nobiles* of the country, were practically the same in the two provinces. Zeeland had, as early as the first half of the thirteenth century, a

chora, replaced, about 1258, by the great statute of Floris the governor, which regulated the legal condition of the Zealand freemen, and only fell into disuse for a brief period (1290-1296), to live on again until far into Burgundian times as the basis of Zealand law. For the then existing South Holland, the land around Dordrecht, we have a statute of 1303, apparently a partially new regulation of an ancient law. The law of North Holland, as it then existed, was not reduced to writing until far into the sixteenth century. Kennemerland possessed written laws as early as 1292, West Friesland a national law based thereon, dating from 1299. In 1346, Empress Margaret granted a most important statute to North and South Holland, Kennemerland, and a part of West Friesland, but this was speedily rescinded by her son.

It is, however, quite impossible to describe the legal history of the country of Holland and Zealand for this period. Here and there we find some details, but lack of sources makes it quite impossible to follow the historical development from point to point. Even the existing privileges are worth little, for they were only granted to supplement the stipulations of the general law, not to define that same law more exactly. The general law existed in the memory of everyone, changing according to local needs but agreeing in the main, born from the rudiments of Frisian and Frankish law, which were in their turn the children of universal Germanic law. In the national law appear very ancient customs: the *eed-helpers* and the judicial combat, in vogue in Rhineland well into the fifteenth century; the count's "truth," whereby the count with his men could pronounce judgment after an investigation of the matter; the *zeventing*, or *lantsage*, whereby the nearest neighbours might decide legally about differences of property and land or upon matters relating to the dike. There is reference to "*geboden*" and "*ongeboden ding*," to "*nootruft*" and "*wappen*

ruft," to "*handhafte daad*," to "*blykende schyn*," all ancient legal terms.

Thus it is plain that there must have been a great number of free peasants in Holland and Zealand and also a considerable number of *keurmedigen* and *schootbortigen*. The former bought themselves free in steadily increasing numbers, and in the count's accounts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there is usually a heading for the *keurmedigheid*, and it is mentioned until the end of the fifteenth century on the count's domain. The *schotboortigheid* was a later survival of the earlier serfdom. It consisted of an obligation, a hereditary obligation, to pay a tribute, a *schot* or scot, to the count as a price, possibly, for the services due from a serf to his lord. The scot was usually due at two terms, May and October (St. Bavo, 1 Oct.). The money was received in each village by *schot-zetters*, scot receivers. Everyone who could not bring proofs of nobility, show that he was descended from free ancestors, was *schotboortig*. Marriages of *schotboortige* with the well-born caused a race of betwixt and between, nobles to the half, quarter, and eighth degree. In the beginning of the fourteenth century an eighth noble was reckoned free. If one who was *schotboortig* went to live in a city, then he became scot free, and the villagers were often unduly taxed with scot because of the fact that emigration had diminished their number. From the end of the thirteenth century the counts made frequent stipulations in regard to this scot, as "a scot bearing territory shall always be scot bearing," that is, that the purchasers of land should be subject to its obligations.

Thus in Holland, service due became a money question at an early date. After the conquest of Floris V., the peasants in West Friesland paid a *tyns* to be free of scot. True serfdom did not exist there, thanks to the earlier independence of the inhabitants. It was in a later period

that serfs were found among the West Frisian population. In Zealand the scot-bearing population offered a yearly tribute, whereby they were said *te steene te scieten*.

The young count was instructed by Philip of Leyden. No one was better initiated in political affairs of the day than he. His famous work, *De cura rei publicæ ac sorte principantis*, discussing the relation of the prince to his subjects, shows a comprehension of the fact that the sovereign power must be strengthened with the increase of the privileges of burghers and peasants. The danger that had formerly menaced the sovereign from the quarter of the aristocracy, namely that the king should be out-rivalled by the nobles, now seemed imminent from the cities.

As soon as the contest with his mother was ended (May, 1355), William had proceeded to rescind a mass of privileges which he had granted in the stress and straits of the last few years, a measure severely censured in the above-named work. Indeed it was probably the very step which caused the book to be written, but it does not appear that the measure aroused much opposition in the cities, though they were robbed of privileges which they had fairly bought. The privileges, it is true, were the outcome of the disordered condition of the countship, but the real reason of the yielding of the cities to the pressure of sovereign power, we cannot be sure of, from lack of documents.

In the Holland cities, in the very midst of party quarrels, about 1350, we see the guilds rear their heads. William III. had suppressed them vigorously, and repeatedly forbidden their organisation under heavy penalties. At the time of the troubles after the death of William IV. they came to the fore, not only at Dordrecht and other cities, but also in the open country, probably somewhat affected by the example of their neighbours, the Flemings.

Philip of Leyden drew the attention of William V. to the example of Flanders to point out this very fact, with its accompanying dangers.

That the guilds were not so powerful in Holland as across the borders is proven by the fact that he warns his prince against allowing any foothold to this movement. "Oppose it in the beginning," he says, which proves plainly that in Holland and Zealand, guild life was still in its early stage. Under William V. we hear very little of the guilds. It was not until Albert that this movement assumed a more serious character, justifying the apprehension of the excellent jurist.

The doctrines of government were further set forth by Philip as follows: The sovereign power must be powerful. The nobles must be held in check. Their castles must be destroyed as much as possible. They must be deprived of any influence in the government of the land. They must return to their original purpose,—be ready to defend the land under the leadership of the prince, and expect nothing further. The feudal system was to be restricted, and the fiefs that fell in were to pass to the count, so that the sovereign power should not suffer under the increasing influence of the nobles. The clergy, although holy as God's representatives on earth, should confine themselves to the church, and were otherwise to be considered subordinate to the state. The cities would, gradually, become pillars of the sovereign, who must take care that the privileges bestowed on them did not limit his rights too much. For the interest of the prince it was necessary that the municipal government should be in the hands of the burghers, not of the guilds.

The government of the land was to be administered with the help of a council, wherein not the egoistic and power-loving nobles were to have seats, but rather the jurists risen from all stations and devoted to the prince: "Lettered who men knew the law and rights of their

forefathers." The count should follow the example of the French king, Philip IV., and remain master of the government by appointing officials who could be removed at any moment, and to whom he was not to be indebted by loans.

The reign of the twenty-one-year-old Albert began under very unfavourable circumstances. He simply assumed the government of his sister-in-law as if he were the count. His eldest brother, Louis the Roman, contested the government of the countship and actually received homage in Hainaut, but was speedily persuaded to relinquish his pretensions. In Holland the parties, outwardly reconciled in the last year of William V., began to make new demonstrations. The Cods, powerful under the former prince, considered themselves ignored by Albert.

When Albert was in Hainaut, Floris of Borselen revolted against his authority and besieged Middelburg. A feud between the Hook Brederodes and the Cod Bloemesteys in Kennemerland culminated in a violent outbreak there. It is true that the ruward succeeded in reëstablishing outward order after a time, but the turbulent spirit remained. Delft was the head centre of a considerable Cod revolt which was only pacified with difficulty (1359). The situation remained strained for years, and, in every absence of the ruward, the fire flared again. Utrecht, too, was on the lookout to gain some advantage. Louis the Roman entered into negotiations with the Cods from time to time, and Edward III. of England had never quite renounced his claims. The relations between the ruward and the Countess Matilda, wife of the insane prince, were often strained. In 1361, the latter even called on the people to take arms against Albert, until he was forced to lay siege to Middelburg, which was affected to her interests. The death of the

countess, in 1362, removed one difficulty in the ruward's way, so that he began to regard himself as safe in these regions, brought his family from Bavaria, and established his permanent residence in the Netherlands.

The chivalrous Duke Albert ruled for forty years over the three united countships, until 1389, as governor in behalf of the mad duke, later as his successor. His reign, too, was noteworthy from the changes in the social conditions of Holland and Zeeland. The provinces were now coming steadily to the fore, after having remained so long behind the South both in civilisation and in material prosperity.

The ruward and his son William, being both military in spirit, played a part in the affairs of Europe where complications of various kinds gave many a pretext for war to those inclined to make it. Albert's court at the Hague, where he usually lived, was the scene of many festivities and tournaments. Wandering soothsayers displayed their talents, and dramatic performances were given here as at the courts of other princes.

Among the soothsayers, William van Hildegardsberch, already quoted, must be mentioned. He appeared fully twenty times at Albert's court, and belongs to the best moralists of the times. And he was a visitor not only at the duke's court and at the castles of the chief nobles, but we find him too—a proof of the extension of cultivation in other circles—in the dwelling of a distinguished priest at Leyden. It is clear that only the well-to-do took any interest in such matters. There is no record of the appearance of these men among the people.

Hildegardsberch's predecessor, Augustijnken of Dordrecht, was likewise a welcome guest at the courts of the duke and of the count of Blois, where he spoke many a "*sprac*," just as William of Delft had done at the courts of William III. and IV., and as many other Hollanders had done in the second half of the century.

At Albert's court French *prouesse* was dominant. Froissart ranks Albert and his son as among the most brilliant knights of the time. True descendants of the House of Avesnes, they maintained the chivalrous reputation of the race of Hainaut as it had been in the first half of the fourteenth century. There were, too, many Germans in the train of these Bavarian princes. Poets from Bavaria and the Rhineland, from Saxony, Holstein, and Bohemia, came to the court and castle. The songs in vogue were often only translations from German. German influence can be particularly traced in the writings of Dirc Potter, an official of Albert and William VI., later of Countess Jacqueline and of Duke John of Bavaria. Hollander though he was, he used many German words in his poem, *der Minnen Loep*.

Thus Albert's court reflected the old brilliancy of Hainaut. The ruling spirit was that of the times of the Avesnes. As to his policy, Albert steered usually between England and France,—at least he did so in the beginning of his reign, when these realms were at peace.

After 1354, William V. had sympathised with England, but the pretensions of Edward III. and his connection with the disaffected in Holland, inclined Albert to the French. And this inclination grew stronger with the mediation of Johanna of Brabant, widow of William IV. She arranged the Burgundian marriages, which were of the utmost importance for Holland and Zealand. After this twofold union of his race with that of Burgundy, Albert sided wholly with France. And when William VI. left his daughter Jacqueline as sole heir, a future was opened for the Burgundian family which was far more brilliant than had been expected.

Albert assumed a position in the Netherlands similar to that of William III. He no longer needed to fear the bishopric of Utrecht. At the time of the troubles, about 1350, and again in the beginning of the reign of William

V., the bishop, John of Arkel, made many an attack on Holland, but after the restoration of order the duke showed him that the chances for any advantage on his part had vanished. The lower bishopric was repeatedly overrun by Holland troops, and the bishop was finally forced to make peace. In 1374, Albert attacked the bishopric on the pretext of the establishment by Utrecht of a fortress, the Gildenborch, upon a canal made near Vreeswijk. Albert was involved in quarrels on every side. The bishopric was, at first, unable to make effective resistance when Albert invaded the territory in 1374 on a frivolous pretext, but finally succeeded in continuing the erection of the Gildenborch, which Albert had opposed on the ground that trade would be hampered. The quarrel with Guelders was finally settled by the betrothal of Albert's little daughter Catherine to Edward of Guelders. This came to nothing, owing to Edward's death at Baesweiler, but the relations with the countship were continued by Catherine's becoming the wife of William of Jülich, who was reconciled to the emperor by Albert's mediation, and acknowledged as Edward's successor.

One of the most important of the marriages in the Bavarian house was that of Johanna with Wenzel, son and heir of Emperor Charles IV. After this event the ruward was confirmed by the emperor in all the rights of the old counts of Holland. He waxed strong and, in 1372, we find him calling himself count of Holland, Zealand, and Hainaut. Even the emperor recognised him in official documents as count of the three provinces, now that Duke William's illness was evidently incurable. One result of this imperial recognition was that Albert renewed his claims on Friesland. This occasioned an outbreak of the old Cod and Hook quarrels in Holland in 1392.

After the vigorous measures employed by Albert to suppress party revolts, there had been comparative peace in Holland, and the Holland merchants had fared well.

In 1370, '75, and '76, severe floods injured the country and swamped great tracts of land, especially in the region of the Zuyderzee and in Friesland along the Lauwers and the Ems, where the inhabitants had been long wont to such catastrophes and to secure themselves against the greedy element by the erection of new dikes.

The cities, especially Amsterdam and Dordrecht, prospered through increased commerce. The former, endowed with municipal rights by Guy of Utrecht, was well favoured by the counts, and carried on a thriving trade on the Baltic. By the middle of the fourteenth century, Amsterdam merchants began to appear in the *vitten*, the trading stations on the Swedish and Norwegian coasts. There, every city had its own shops and booths, their merchants were under a governor of their own choice, who judged according to their own city laws, on all important affairs at least. The Amsterdam merchants were prominent above their fellows of other cities; their stalls were the most popular and best provided in the settlements. In the Hanse assemblies they took part, as did also Dordrecht, Brill, and Zierikzee, in the contest which the Hanseatic League carried on against King Waldemer of Denmark. They contributed to oppose their little boats filled with armed men to the united fleets. They, too, shared in the commercial advantages gained after the victory. Amsterdam began to be one of the chief trading ports for the Baltic.

In the Holland cities the guilds were just beginning to make themselves known, especially at Dordrecht, where the oldest guild, that of the cloth merchants, dates from 1200, and whither Floris V. and the administration of the city tried to attract Flemish woolworkers by offering mild restrictions and privileges. Thus by 1367 there were a goodly number of guilds that had received pledges for the maintenance of their organisations and privileges.

The guilds drew closely together. Two years later they even tried to obtain further rights, in which attempt they failed. It is not improbable that these guild agitations have some connection with contemporaneous movements in Flanders, especially as Dordrecht maintained close commercial relations with the province. In 1373, a guild revolt was suppressed by Duke Albert. But the agitations continued, and, in 1386, a college of *eight* was established. The members were chosen by the deacons of the guilds, "to take counsel and to administer affairs with the city officials." Before this another college of *twelve* had enjoyed some part in the administration of the city. Later, the count had had a share in the nomination of the *eight*, but the college remained in existence and exercised a certain influence on the course of affairs at Dordrecht.

In 1372, we find similar guild agitations at Leyden, where the fullers demanded higher wages. In later years the Leyden guilds strove in vain to acquire political power, owing to the count's opposition. Analogous conditions are found at Amsterdam and elsewhere, although we have little more knowledge of the revolts than the mere facts that they did occur. It is very probable that their movements were of more importance than appears in our scanty information, and that they were really connected with Hook and Cod quarrels.

When we consider the close connection between the Cod party and the patrician families at the very outbreak of the troubles in the days of William V. and Margaret, the hypothesis is not hazardous that the Hooks found support with the lower classes, and especially with the guilds. Thus the scant records concerning guild agitations gain a new significance. They are evidences of the continuance of the quarrels in the cities, and we need not be astonished when we see Duke Albert suppress the turbulence of the guilds in the fourteenth century with a

strong hand at the time when he was energetically opposing the Hook party.

Not only opposition to the pretensions of the nobles, but also that to the claims of the guilds had some share in the new outbreak of Cod and Hook quarrels. Both phenomena throw a surprising light on the social side of the great disturbances in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The rich merchants of the Cod party were in opposition both to the nobles and to the lower classes. Duke Albert finally adopted the same policy as the Flemish counts, and supported the patricians in the city against the pretensions of the lesser citizens.

It can be said of Leyden, and phenomena of similar character appear elsewhere, that the municipal government in the second half of the fourteenth century rested in the hands of a small, propertied class. The ruling families, from whose circle the new governor and petty officials were chosen annually, in Holland and Zeeland, as elsewhere, included the chief merchants, the great landowners in the vicinity, and the noble families who had established themselves in the cities. To these the municipal administration was confined. Whoever had once sat in court became a member of the town-council, or *vroedschap*, which also comprised various other people belonging to the kingdom. Thus, at Leyden, those who were consulted on all important matters, especially on every point relating to finance, were sixty to eighty strong. This council began to grow more potent before the end of the century, certainly in the beginning of the following century, began, indeed, to crystallise into a little independent body, usually filling its own vacancies and in exclusive possession of municipal authority and municipal offices. The influence of the count in the cities steadily decreased. Rights, originally his, were gradually transferred by him to the cities in return for money and for promises of further support, with money

of arms; if need arose. Steadily did the occasions increase when the count took counsel of the cities, side by side with his nobles and his clergy. And thus their association with public affairs grew steadily more important.

The influence of the cities of Holland and Zealand in the government of the country was permanently established as early as the Bavarian period, though it is usually placed under the Burgundian rule.

Under the Hainauters there is some mention of consultations between the count and his council on affairs of government. In 1359, and the following years, we find repeated mention of meetings "of council, cities, and lords, of the three countships of the land," also of "council and cities," of "prelates, lord, and cities." At these assemblies, or *dagvaerten*, there was discussion about imminent wars, about riots, quarrels between Albert and Countess Matilda, about the illness of Duke William, the pretensions of Edward III., etc.

Naturally, this inclination of the prince to allow the coöperation of the cities in public matters aroused great discontent among the nobles, who clung to the feudal society, to the recognition of their feudal rights. But it was not the opposition of nobles and cities that ignited anew the fire of contention in Holland and Zealand in 1392.

The old duke conceived a passion for the young and beautiful Aleida of Poelgeest, belonging to one of the Leyden Cod families. She and her friends, among whom was a certain Yonker Jan, son of Lord Otto of Arkel, made good use of the opportunity to gain privileges for the Cod party. Naturally this was to the annoyance of the Hooks, who sought an alliance with the duke's son, William, count of Oosterhout, who usually lived in Hainaut, where his father had given him the administration. Arkel united about forty of his friends

into an alliance, with Duke Albert at the head, whose purpose was to curb the power of the Hooks. The young lord, a true knight after Froissart's heart, gained some influence in the North, but secret plots, too, were on foot, and the beautiful Aleida was murdered as she walked in the Binnenhof with the duke's *hofmeister*, William Cuser, on the evening of September 21, 1392. With this deed the Hooks thought to destroy the influence of their opponents, but not so. The chief members of the Hook party were forced to flee to Hainaut to Count William. They were condemned for Aleida's murder by default, and their castles were razed to the ground. The young count hastened to his father's court at the Hague to beg mercy for the guilty, but the indignant duke refused to listen to his son, and even attempted to take him prisoner. The young man, deprived of his stadtholdership in Hainaut, fled to a neighbouring house, where he barely escaped death by fire. Finally he took refuge in his own castle, Altena, near Heusden.

Meanwhile the great strongholds of the Hook sympathisers, of the Wassenaars, Montfoort, Asperens, Heemstedes, Polanens, Brederodes, etc., were attacked and destroyed by the country people, with Albert's approval. The hatred displayed by the country people on this occasion, and at other times, shows the extent of the breach between nobles and peasants, and how often this opposition among the population played a part in the feuds of the time. Finally, the duke laid siege to Altena (June, 1392), and devastated the little town of Woudrichem. Count William escaped to Breda, a private possession of the Polanens, but his chief allies remained besieged at Altena until Albert's second son, John, bishop-elect of Liege, the duke of Burgundy, and the duchess of Brabant effected a reconciliation between father and son with the coöperation of the cities of Holland and Zeeland. Most of the exiles returned, and Count William was replaced

in his stadtholdership over Hainaut, but the Cod lords remained in the government. Only the murderers of Aleida were still forbidden the land.

Count William, too, inherited the mediæval spirit of his ancestors. In 1395, a wave of enthusiasm spread over Europe for a crusade against the Turks, who were just then threatening to attack Hungary, and the young count was very anxious to join his cousin John of Burgundy and other French knights in the expedition. His father, however, dissuaded him on the ground that the Turks were none of their business while they had their own interests to look after in Friesland. The chivalry of Hainaut were forbidden to waste their strength on the Turks, and great preparations were set on foot for a campaign in Friesland.

The Frisians made some conciliatory efforts to avoid war, but the duke and his son refused to listen to them. Party hatred was put aside, and both Cods and Hooks were prepared to take part in order to have like share in the booty. The king of France furnished five hundred lances.¹ Two hundred archers, accompanied by a few horse, came over from England. The knights of Hainaut, almost to a man, crossed Brabant to Holland. The cities in three countships supported what promised advantage for their commerce, furnished large sums of money. Extraordinary tributes were granted everywhere without hesitation.

The Frisians showed no intention of yielding without sturdy resistance. Under the Frisian noble, Juw Juwinga, they made ready to repulse the invaders, but they were not strong enough. On August 27, 1396, Duke Albert landed with a large force, though it probably did not number the hundred and eighty thousand men which rumour gave him, and won a complete victory on the

¹ A lance or sword (*lans* or *glaive*) is usually three to five men,—one mounted spearman attended by several foot-soldiers.

field, but did not succeed in gaining possession of many places. Count William stayed in Friesland after his father's withdrawal and harried the unfortunate land sadly, but only Staveren and a few small places remained in the hands of the Hollanders.

Two years later, in the spring of 1398, a new army, twenty thousand men strong, was collected by the duke and his son. A new invasion took place, and the Hollanders were more successful. In the end of July the Frisians of the east and west provinces were forced to submit, and did homage to Albert. Staveren and the cloister of St. Odulf were to remain in the possession of the Hollanders. Ancient Frisian law was to be maintained, and the Frisians were declared exempt from foreign military service, while the duke was free to erect cities and strongholds wherever he would.

Albert treated the native nobles fairly, and received their homage. The majority of the Vetkooper party accepted the duke's sovereignty. The Heemstras, Camminghas, Wiardas, and Walthas in the east and west provinces, the Gockingas, Houwerdas, and Onstas between the Lauwers and Ems, all acknowledged the conqueror.

The Frisian cities in the region of the Lauwers bought privileges similar to those enjoyed by the Holland towns. But in the north-east, opposition remained rife, supported by the bishop of Utrecht. Count William was only partially successful in allaying the disturbance in April, 1398, and Friesland could not be considered as wholly conquered. New revolts were followed by new expeditions from Holland. On September 30, 1402, a treaty was made, assuring freedom to all Friesland. Staveren alone was left in the hands of Holland until 1414, when it was retaken by the Frisians, and the last remnant of the power of the old counts of Holland across the Zuyderzee disappeared.

There were many reasons why the attempts to reduce Friesland were abandoned. Campaigning in the morasses was very difficult, the Holland cities grew tired of furnishing money for a cause in which they began to doubt of profit to themselves, and finally the old feuds between the nobles began to break out. Hooks and Cods again measure their strength in constant contests, quite unfitting the nobles for waging an offensive war, besides causing the sovereign the greatest trouble.

At about this time we find Albert's sympathies, possibly under the influence of his son, turning to the Hooks. His former Cod associate, Brunstyn van Herwijnen, appears in open opposition to him, and four years later (1401), John of Arkel, while the Hooks obtain almost exclusive possession of the ducal council. The last three years of Albert's life were mostly spent in these party quarrels, which reached large proportions. Utrecht took sides in an effort to regain her rights on the Lek passage, the merchant city having been seriously inconvenienced by the tolls imposed by the Arkel party. This feud was still in progress when Albert died (December 12, 1404).

William assumed sovereignty amid the jubilation of the Hooks, who thought their good days were come. The party feud lasted a year. The border lands of Utrecht were plundered and harried. Gorkum was won by Arkel, and finally became a Guelders city, for the quarrel had assumed larger proportions. Arkel's brother-in-law, the duke of Guelders and Jülich, came to his aid, and the result was open warfare between Holland and Guelders. The poor peasants were the chief sufferers. Their harvests were destroyed and their villages burned. The cities were better able to defend themselves. The desolation was, in truth, dreadful until the proclamation of a three years' truce (until 1410). At the expiration of that time, hostilities were renewed, and lasted until a peace was enacted at Wijk, near Duurstede (1412). Gorkum was to

be ceded to Duke William for one hundred thousand crowns, with some other compensations to John of Arkel and his son, but another year followed before peace was really attained. The turbulent noble was forced to flee to Guelders, and then finally was the triumph of the Hooks complete. Quiet was restored in the countship, and the duke was free to turn his attention in another direction.

William VI. was closely allied with France through his marriage to the sister of John the Fearless of Burgundy. The friendship of the house of Hainaut had usually been given to England, but William VI. was inclined to French sympathies, and in the battle of Agincourt his knights were on the side of France. This was in spite of the fact that he had himself visited England in his youth and had been honoured by the Order of the Garter, much to the annoyance of his French kin.

In July, 1406, this French bond was strengthened by the marriage of the five-year-old Jacqueline to John of Touraine, second son of the insane king of France. The bridegroom was only a trifle older than his bride, and the two children were brought up together in Hainaut until their marriage was solemnised in 1415. Hopes for the advancement of the house of Holland ran still higher when the dauphin died. The new dauphin and dauphiness crossed the border of France in the spring of 1417, prepared to assume the government under the direction of Jacqueline's father and uncle. A brilliant future opened for the daughter of William VI., which was suddenly clouded by the death of John of Touraine, April 4, 1417. William saw his ambitious plans for his daughter's future dashed to the ground. He began, furthermore, to doubt the possibility of his own realm being securely held by a woman. He knew that the Cods were deeply embittered at his measures against Arkel and his followers, he knew the ambitious nature of his brother,

the bishop-elect of Liege, and he dreaded the house of Burgundy. When his daughter's husband was still alive and the future seemed secure for the young pair, he had called a gathering of the nobles, bailiffs, and cities of Holland and Zeeland at the Hague (August 15, 1416), and asked and obtained their promises to support his daughter after his death. She even received homage as her father's heir, which had been given on condition that Arkel and Egmont be banished from the land. Then the situation was changed. Jacqueline became a widow. There is little likelihood that William planned to marry her to young William of Arkel, as the story is. On the contrary, on his death-bed he designated his nephew, John IV. of Brabant, as her husband. At the end of May, 1417, the famous prince died at Bouchain, in Hainaut, where he had remained since his visit to France.

His death was attributed to the careless treatment of a wound by a physician "whom he trusted more than other masters."





APPENDIX

AUTHORITIES FOR EARLY NETHERLAND HISTORY

OUR knowledge of Netherland history for the period before the fourteenth century is based on fragmentary and broken records. The investigator finds some trustworthy authority for a brief epoch here, and a few years there. Then the ground sinks under his feet and he has no material for bridging over the chasm of uncertainty. It is impossible to follow the evolution of events so as to obtain a panorama of gradual historical development.

With few exceptions, characters appear suddenly on the scene, and we see them act without knowing the causes of their action. We can form no clear idea of such men as Count William I. and Count Floris V. of Holland. We know nothing of Otto II. of Guelders, of Guy of Dampierre, of the three Henries of Brabant. Their deeds are, in the main, inexplicable, and their guiding thoughts incomprehensible.

So it is *mutatis mutandis* with other men and things. It is quite conceivable that the readers of this volume may have reproached the author with omitting the very point which would have been interesting. The author can only defend himself by pointing to the scanty sources at his command. What can be accepted as historical he has given, and the broken links can only be supplied by conjecture.

CÆSAR AND TACITUS

In the days of the Roman dominion, the history of the Netherlands suffers from the vagueness which dims all ancient

history. We have Cæsar's own records without corroboration. He was to the Netherlands as Stanley to the Nile country, but no reporters travelled with or after him to describe his course. Cæsar's book, like Stanley's, is not merely a record of expeditions, but a justification of his own actions. His account of affairs in Gaul may be regarded as approximately the truth, but there is room for doubt concerning his own version of his military and political acts and motives. The description of conditions in Gaul and Germany incidentally woven into his recital, may be accepted as a source of information. The reservation, however, must be made that Cæsar was dependent upon hearsay rather than upon his own investigations. Thus many of his statements, *e. g.*, his geographical facts, cannot be relied upon without confirmation.

Tacitus is the most important of the classic authors for the history of the Netherlands. But in his *Germania* there are statements—would that we might always know which they are!—that make the Germans, his ideal of an unspoiled people compared with the enervated Romans of his time, appear better and more attractive than they were in reality. The picture of the German campaigns in his *Historiæ* and *Annales* rests, for its main authority assuredly, upon the lost books of Pliny, *De bellis Germaniæ*, libri xx., and if those were extant we might ascertain what Tacitus, artist in words that he was, embellished, and what he left unadorned. We are obliged to help out with the meagre observations of Suetonius, of Pliny himself in his *Historia Naturalis*, of Dio Cassius, Pomponius Mela, Zonaras, and other Roman and Greek writers. These are all mere makeshifts, and there is, further, the unfortunate circumstance that Tacitus breaks off just at a most interesting point in the account of the Batavian insurrection, since the rest of his work is lost.

So nothing remains for the historian but to apply internal criticism to these authors with the utmost caution and to use the inscriptions, coins, and other excavated relics of Roman times for the purpose of supplementing the written relation. Something may thus be rescued from the shipwreck of our knowledge concerning antiquity.

Mention need not be made of the few scattered reports of the *Scriptores historiæ Augustæ*, the historians of the later emperors, of Ammianus Marcellinus, and others, nor of the chance accounts coming down to us of the events occurring in the Netherlands during the Roman dominion.

LAWS, AND LIVES OF THE SAINTS

With the end of the Roman dominion at the beginning of the eighth century, two new important classes of historical authorities appear: the *leges barbarorum*, the laws of the Teutonic conquerors, and the *vite sanctorum*, the lives of the saintly preachers of Christianity in early times, of the oldest bishops of Utrecht and neighbouring dioceses.

These authorities are less important for the political history than the dry records of the most ancient monastic annals, but, on the other hand, they are of great significance for our knowledge of social conditions. They are more reliable, as sources for our history, than the annals and the relations of real historians. Why? Because the annalists were often insufficiently informed, and the authors were often prejudiced or sacrificed truth to elegance of diction and style. The laws, on the contrary, give us the data upon which they were based, almost unconsciously, and certainly without any intention of so doing. All uncertainty concerning them is therefore excluded, with the exception of that arising from imperfect expression due to the slight diffusion of literary knowledge or from our not understanding words that were quite clear to the contemporaries. The lives of the saints, likewise, sketch unintentionally the environment of their subjects; incidentally, in the accessories, they often furnish something of great importance for our purpose.

The Salic, Ripuarian, Chamavian, and Frisian laws of Frankish times¹ are, consequently, invaluable authorities for the history of Netherlandish civilisation from Rome's downfall to the days of Charlemagne. For the same period (500 to 800), the same may be said of the lives of the missionaries, so

¹ Published in the *Monumenta Germaniæ*, section *Leges*.

far as they are compiled by contemporaries or by writers almost contemporary with their subjects. Special mention is to be made of the lives of St. Eligius by Audoënus, of St. Amand by Baudemundus, of St. Lambert by Godescalcus, of St. Hubert, of Willibrord by Charlemagne's friend, Alcuin, of Boniface by Willibald, of Gregory of Utrecht by Liudger, of Liudger himself by Altfried, etc. Other and later lives of the saints have much less value for our purpose, unless, like that of Lebuinus by Hucbald, they are manifestly based upon authentic information.¹

MONASTIC ANNALS AND CHRONICLES

The monastic annals, as well as these lives of the saints, date from the eighth century.² They originated from the ancient custom in the convents of recording some of the chief events of the year on the margin of the widely circulated Easter tables and calendars showing the feast days, as was done on the consular lists in Roman times.

We have already called these records dry, noting in scant words, as they do, the most important news of the vicinity and more remote sections. When wandering merchants visited the secluded monastery, when military expeditions passed by it, when travellers or adventurers entered the cloister after a turbulent life, when men in high places came to see their monkish relatives, reports of what was going on in the world penetrated within the silent walls and were inscribed in the annals. The head of the convent himself provided for this being regularly done. But how much occurred of which the inmate of the cloister heard little or nothing? Many reports undoubtedly arrived in a circuitous way, and after all sorts of mutilation or embellishment. Many were beyond the intellectual horizon of the monk dead to the world. On the other hand, many

¹ These lives are mostly contained in the *Monumenta Germaniae*, section *Scriptores*; further, in the important collection of the *Acta Sanctorum*, published, since 1643, by the Antwerp Jesuit, John Bolland, and his successors down to the present time, the Bollandists.

² See on this point Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter* (5th ed., 1885-1886), i., p. 130 *et seq.*

things were copied heedlessly from poor manuscripts of earlier monastic records. The *argumentum ex silentio* that some fact does not appear, cannot be applied to the ordinary annals, and the variations in the statements of these writings are not to be taken too seriously.

It is another case whenever we have to do with more or less official annals, which were compiled by royal command, such as the so-called *Annales Laurissenses*¹ *majores*, originating close to Charlemagne himself, and continued by Einhard, as Ranke thinks; the annals of St. Bertin, continued by Bishop Prudentius of Troyes and Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims; those of Fulda (ninth century). On one hand, more accuracy may here be expected; on the other hand, more partiality than in the old annals of St. Amand in Hainaut, very important for the Netherlands, and the *Annales Mosellani* (from the Metz district) of the eighth century; the *Annales Xantenses* coming from the lower Rhine, the chronicle of the world by Regino of Prüm on the Moselle, that of St. Vaast at Arras, the full *Vedastini*, all of the ninth century; the chronicle of the learned Flodoard of Rheims and his successor, Richer de St. Rémy (tenth century); the ancient monastic annals of Egmont and of St. Mary at Utrecht and of many other convents, especially in the southern provinces, etc.

Gradually these annals, dating from the tenth to the twelfth and even fourteenth centuries, became chronicles, connected relations of what had occurred either in the neighbourhood of the cloister or in the world as known to the monks. Isidore of Seville (600), and the learned Orosius (700) in his great historical work, *Historiarum*, libri vii., had put universal history into fixed periods, supplementing the ancient, short, dry chronicles of Greek and Roman times, particularly the *Chronicon* of the famous Bishop Eusebius of Cæsarea (325), of which the Latin translation by St. Jerome (378) must have

¹ The annals are named after the convents where they were found, or with which they seem, often on slight foundation, to be connected. They are all collected in the *Monumenta Germaniæ*, generally in admirable editions. A criticism of the value of their information in general is given in the above-mentioned excellent work of Wattenbach.

been generally known over all Christian Europe. After St. Jerome, Orosius follows the interpretation of the dream in the second chapter of Daniel, and divides the history of the world into four periods, those of the four world-monarchies existing before his times: the Babylonian, Macedonian, Carthaginian, and Roman. His conception of history prevails in the Middle Ages. Later, six ages of the world were adopted, after the example of Isidore, agreeing with the six days of creation, the beginning of Genesis being taken for a prophecy.

In imitation of these authors, Sigebert of Gembloux (1100) wrote in the Netherlands, after Regino, the first great chronicle of the world, which furnished many a later brother of the cloister with the general information upon which he proceeded to build up the chronicle of his own convent.

Sigebert long presided over St. Vincent's celebrated school at Metz, an "ever-flowing fount of wisdom," and there wrote works of European renown. Returning to Gembloux about 1070, he lived there until 1112, one of the first scholars of his day, the pious and humble oracle of Lorraine, honoured and praised by his contemporaries. He wrote many lives of saints, theological treatises, a history of the monastery of Gembloux, a sort of bibliographical survey of church history, and finally his great chronicle of the world, mainly for the purpose of fixing the chronology of the Christian legends. The latter work was compiled with great erudition but with less care, and the author was cautious in judging the events mentioned except when they concerned the struggle against the pope, in which he was much interested. It runs from the end of the fourth century to shortly before his death.

Half a century earlier Canon Anselm of Liege wrote the history of the church of Liege, in continuation of the similar chronicle of the close of the tenth century, compiled by Abbot Heriger of Lobbes, and based upon the annals of the Liege convents. Almost contemporary with Sigebert, lived Abbot Rudolph of St. Truyen, who recorded the history of his own convent, a work that was continued later in the twelfth century. Cambrai had its excellent *Gesta abbatum Cameracensium* in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, abounding in original

documents. A celebrated historian, Abbot Herman of Tournay, lived early in the twelfth century at Tournay in the monastery of St. Martin. In St. Bertin's convent, near St. Omer, there was a monk working, later in the century, who based the important chronicle, *Flandria generosa* (— 1164), upon old records and annals. We have nothing to show from Ghent for this period that can compare with the Liege chronicles, unless it may be the *Annales Blandiniani* of the eleventh century, continued to 1292.

The most notable chronicles of the northern convents¹ are the *Annales Egmundani*, compiled in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with the *Chronicon Egmundanum*, derived from it, which both end with the full account of the dissensions of Holland in 1204; the continuation of these works to 1332 by Wilhelmus Procurator; the chronicles of Wittewierum, composed in the thirteenth century by Abbots Emo and Menco (continued to 1273); the remains of those of Mariëngaarde and Lidlum (from the end of the twelfth century), prepared by the sixteenth-century Frisian monk, Sibrandus Leo; what remains of the chronicle of Aduard, put together from old records late in the fifteenth century; the chronicle of Bloemkamp, made up in the same way in the latter part of the sixteenth century; some records concerning Bethlehem, near Zwolle, and Mariënwierd; the *Annales Rodenses*, extremely important for Limburg, dating from the middle of the twelfth century, written in the convent at Rolduc, and chiefly valuable because we have little else for that time and country but the insignificant miraculous tales of Jocundus (1088) in his *Translatio Sancti Servatii*.

It is remarkable, but perhaps not difficult to understand, that so few records of this character have come down to us from Utrecht, though the diocese abounded in monasteries and was a centre of the intellectual culture of those days. The unimportant *Annals* of St. Mary² of the twelfth century are

¹ See Muller, *List of North Netherland Chronicles* (p. 76 et seq.), of which a second and improved edition may be expected.

² Published in the *Mon. Germ. Scriptores*, and by S. Muller, in the *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, xi., p. 465 et seq.

about all that we possess, except the ancient lists of the bishops. This phenomenon may be explained in a measure by the not unreasonable supposition that Beka's great chronicle of the bishops,¹ composed in the middle of the fourteenth century from old Utrecht documents and records, has pushed many of the authorities for his history into the background, and exposed them to oblivion and destruction. So Beka is the voice by which the ancient Utrecht records still speak to us, and St. Mary's *Annals* and the old lists of bishops are the remnants of those records themselves.

From the nature of the case, the fuller chronicles furnish more information concerning social history than the brief annals, which mainly serve to establish the political history of the period treated of. Eminent in this respect are the invaluable monastic chronicles of Wittewierum, rich in curious particulars of the life of Holland's forefathers in the thirteenth century.

The historic worth of the data contained in these writings is generally very great. We have already hinted that misconceptions with regard to the connection of political affairs were to be expected among the monks; a certain sarcastic tone against the "sinful world" outside of the cloister may be detected in the chronicles and annals; the influence of the convent's patrons and superiors is plainly to be noted. On the other hand, the chronicler, relying upon the slight publicity of his work, which seldom became known beyond the monastery, could often allow himself to bring things to light that a secular author would have taken good care to conceal. But these difficulties and advantages are of less consequence in social matters, where such considerations had slight weight, than in the political history, where a contest like that between pope and emperor must naturally have exerted a great influence upon the views of monks often deeply interested in the dispute. Sigebert of Gembloux, *e. g.*, the vehement opponent of the papal policy and writer of refutations of the doctrines of Gregory VII. and his partisans, must be used with caution for

¹ Edition of Buchelius, 1643. A new edition of this work has already been too long postponed.

these subjects. The reports of contemporaries are of course most valuable for our purpose. They picture for us, sometimes unwittingly, the circle in which they lived, and they make, in passing, many ingenuous remarks upon their surroundings.

HISTORIANS

In many monastic annals the individuality of the authors is wholly lost and it is almost impossible to obtain the slightest idea of the personality of the chronicler. One monk picks up the thread where another lays down the pen, and the reader knows little or no difference, even when the original manuscript lies before him, which rarely happens. It is almost impossible to distinguish the original matter from what the writer has copied from other annals. Thus, for example, it is very difficult to recognise the hand of the historian Einhard in the so-called annals of Lorsch, and many have denied his participation in the work.

Other chronicles exist in which the writer's personality does appear. The subjective historian is gradually evolved from the objective recorder of facts. The writers of the already mentioned Wittewierum chronicle and of the *Annales Rodenses* may be brought into the latter category, but men like the last author of the *Annales Egmondani* are also approaching it. A great difference of ideas and development is noticeable between Emo and Menco¹; the compiler of the *Annales Rodenses* gives his own opinion of the matters under discussion; the recorder of the events of 1203 and 1204 in Holland speaks sympathetically of Count William I.'s party; the hand of Sigebert of Gembloux is manifestly betrayed in the *Gesta abbatum Gemblacensium*.

But still the convent is paramount in the pages of all these chroniclers. This is not merely because the monks are writing the records of a monastery, but also because they sink themselves, as it were, in the whole body of their cloistered brethren. Hence, it is a rare exception to meet with the first person in their writings.

¹ See Wybrands, *De abdij Bloemhof*.

There are other historical works, however, of this early epoch in which this self-subordination does not appear. Gregory of Tours (589), Fredegarius, early historians of the Franks, and the unknown author of the *Gesta Francorum*, a chronicle made up of legends and songs, all put their own personality into their works. Their writings can only be imperfectly understood without some knowledge of the circumstances of the authors' lives. This is also true of the biographers of the missionary preachers, as, for example, Einhard, the celebrated friend of Charlemagne, who wrote his *Vita Caroli Magni* in a style resembling that of Suetonius. So it is with Theganus, the biographer of Louis the Pious; with Nithard, the hero and statesman of the days of Charles the Bald; with Prudentius and Hincmar, who continued the *Annales Bertiniani*; with later authors, like Hermannus Contractus of Reichenau (1050), who compiled a chronicle of the world, like his younger contemporary, Adam of Bremen, who wrote the history of the northern countries with the help of the rich Bremen archives and of the materials gathered in his Scandinavian travels; with Thietmar of Merseburg (— 1019), a relative of the Holland family of counts; with Lambert of Hersfeld, noteworthy on account of some statements concerning Dutch history; with Canon Anselm of Liege; with the Hainaut provost, Giselbertus, chancellor of Count Baldwin V. of Flanders, Namur, and Hainaut, important especially for the latter part of the twelfth century, and often very well informed by reason of his high position; with the excellent Bruges author, Galbertus, and another writer of the life of Charles the Good of Flanders, Walter of Therouanne, both contemporaries of the compiler of the colossal imperial history, whom we know under the name of *Annalista Saxo* (first half of the twelfth century); with Bishop Otto of Freisingen (1150), the renowned author of the books *De duabus civitatibus* and *Gesta Friderici* [Barbarossa]. In all these writers, important contributions may be found to the political history of the Netherlands, although the mistake must be avoided of considering everything they say as the unadulterated truth.¹ Albert of

¹ A collection of all these fragments relating to the Netherlands might,

Stade in the thirteenth century ends the series of these historians, whose extensive knowledge and eminent position in church or state made their books inestimable authorities for the history of their times.

The Northern Netherlands, also, can show similar works of true historians. Whether the life which we possess of Henry II. is by Bishop Adelbold of Utrecht¹ remains still uncertain, but the latter's contemporary, Alpertus, wrote in the diocese of Utrecht, perhaps at Amersfoort in the monastery of Hohorst or at Tiel, the extremely important book *De diversitate temporum*,² which, in a relatively good style and with the appearance of being by a well informed eye-witness, describes the desperate deeds of Balderik and Adela and the occurrences on the Rhine and Meuse. Of the thirteenth century, we have the valuable relation *Quadam Narracio de Groninghe, de Trente, de Covordia et diversis aliis*, written about 1230, by a Frisian ecclesiastic, concerning events in which he took part³; further, the no less precious *Gesta abbatum* of Mariëngaarde,⁴ containing biographies of the earliest abbots, written by successors and pupils, and abounding in particulars of the life, acts, and thoughts of Friesland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

We have already referred to such historians in the South. But these historians are silent in the middle of the thirteenth century. The period of the monastic histories comes to an end with the advent of the new spirit in the world.⁵

The transition to the new time is formed by the *Royal Chronicles* of Cologne of the twelfth century, afterwards continued in the *Annals* of the Cologne convent of St. Pantaleon to the middle of the thirteenth century. The Saxon without great difficulty, be brought together, particularly with the aid of the excellent indexes of the *Monumenta Germaniæ*. A survey would thus be obtained of what is known about the history of the Netherlandish states of the Middle Ages.

¹ *Mon. Ger. Scriptorum*, iv., 679 *et seq.*

² *Ibid.*, 700 *et seq.*

³ Published by *Hist. Genootschap*. Edited by Pijnacker Hordijk.

⁴ Published by *Friesch. Genootschap*. Edited by Wybrands.

⁵ Cf. Lorenz, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter seit der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts*, 3 Auflage, Einleitung.

chronicle of the world of the middle of the thirteenth century, the first prose chronicle in the language of the people, was read not a little in the Netherlands, as is apparent from the Frisian chronicles of the fifteenth century. It was still the work of an ecclesiastic, but the point of view was more free than that of the older historic relations, and it was in no way connected with any convent. The celebrated Saxon jurist, Eike von Repkow, has long been considered its author. Perhaps he was in truth the man to inspire the writer to work up the history of the German emperors and kings with a special eye upon Northern Germany.

The old world of chivalry vanishes and the burghers are becoming important. The foreign knightly poetry with its romantic pictures and worship of the beautiful gives way to the description of actuality, to the relation of what has really occurred. Maerlant's verse waxes bitter against the many false things he found in that foreign poetry. The poet of the *Grimberghen War* speaks even more vehemently of the French poets:

" That they bring fables forth as truth,
Which man ne'er saw nor heard in sooth,
Things that were never known to be."

The Dominicans and Franciscans, the former mainly by their preaching, do their best to turn the people against the courtly world of chivalry, and the ideas and poems connected with it.¹ They offer as a substitute their miraculous lives of the saints, their stories of the Gospel, their science based upon truth. With a view to their preaching, they zealously study history and put it into their sermons, inveighing against heresy and a life of wickedness, and showing the deeds and deaths of the saints. The diffusion of knowledge in general is aided by compendiums, known by the name of *Chronica Martiniana*, giving a concise survey of history. They take their name from Martinus Polonus of Troppau, a Dominican who died in 1278, and who compiled the history of popes and emperors in a very brief form for the use of theologians in need of chronological

¹ Scherer, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, pp. 230-241.

data. His work was repeatedly continued and became the great compendium of history in the later Middle Ages.

The large historical encyclopedias are somewhat of the same nature, as the celebrated *Specula* ("Mirrors"), notably the *Speculum historiale* of the famous Dominican, Vincent of Beauvais (1250), the tutor of the sons of Louis the Pious, who served his order by comprising all the learning of his time in a great encyclopedia, *Speculum Majus*, of which the work mentioned was a section.

Another factor came into operation, and that was the necessity of entering into competition with the poems of chivalry, of putting new material before new hearers and readers in the same old form and not in the Latin, unintelligible to the common people. This gave rise to the poetical chronicles in the vernacular, such as Maerlant's *Historical Mirror*, in which Vincent's *Speculum* was abridged to make it more suitable for the Flemish burghers and was supplemented here and there by local events.¹ Death prevented his completing the work, but it was continued by Philip Utenbroeke and Louis of Velthem.

The dissolution of the German empire into a number of small and almost independent states made itself felt in historiography. The writers turned their attention rather to the smaller territorial divisions in which they lived than to the whole of Germany or the world, as had been the fashion of their predecessors in the flourishing days of the empire. When Louis of Velthem took up the "fourth part" of Maerlant's historical work, he kept his eye chiefly upon his own country, and still more so in the "fifth part," which differs greatly from the preceding by having many local reports derived from eye-witnesses, making it valuable for Netherland history down to 1316. Maerlant adopted this course in his additions for the benefit of his Flemish readers.

No less remarkable than the writers of the *Historical*

¹ See De Vries and Verwijs, Introduction to the *Spieghel Historiae*, particularly pp. ix. and xxxix. On this and the following, see Jonckbloet, *Gesch. der Nederl. Letterk.*, *Middeleeuwen*, ii., *passim*; Te Winkel, *Gesch. der Nederl. Letterk.*, i., 354 *et seq.*

Mirror, and standing higher as a veracious historian, is the excellent Melis Stoke, the author of the noteworthy *Poetical Chronicle*, which ranks rather low as poetry, but cannot be highly enough esteemed as an authority for the history of his days,—the last years of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century.

A contemporary of Floris V., John I., John II., and William III., very possibly living at the court of the counts, a sincere admirer both of the first and last highly gifted men,—an admiration that seldom degenerated into flattery,—he gives us a picture of the political history of his times such as we would gladly possess of some other period of the history of the counts. For earlier times, he simply translates what the Egmont chronicle and old monastic documents furnished him, and he does this very accurately. His sense of truth is much greater than that of the better poet, John of Heelu, author of the *Battle of Woeringen*, who poetically adorns this recital of the things he saw and must therefore be used with caution as an authority. This is even more the case with regard to the *Grimberghen War*, sometimes attributed to the same Heelu, in which the separation of fact from fancy becomes so difficult that we may well agree with Jonckbloet¹ in asserting that “the work is midway between a chronicle and an epic poem.” There can be little certainty, however, in exercising historical criticism upon the *Battle of Woeringen* and this latter work, because we lack the data to distinguish truth from falsehood. This may be said, in a less degree, of the *Brabantsche Yeesten*, of the middle of the fourteenth century, by John van Boendale, who becomes more valuable for the period of his own life.

An important work for the early history of Brabant is the *Chronica nobilissimorum ducum Lotharingiæ et Brabantiae ac regum Francorum* of Edmund de Dynter,² who occupied a high place at the court of Brussels from the beginning of the fifteenth century and died in 1448. He wrote his work by order of Duke Philip of Burgundy between 1445 and 1447,

¹ *Gesch. der Nederl. Letterk.*, ii., 152.

² Edited by De Ram in the *Collection des chroniques belges*.

and made use of the Brussels archives, from which he derived various valuable documents and sometimes incorporated them in full in his book. The work is often little more than an arrangement of these documents. He relies mainly for universal history upon the famous contemporary author, Sylvius (later Pope Pius II.), and upon Vincent of Beauvais.

For Hainaut, there is chiefly the great chronicle of Jacques de Guise (— 1399), running to 1253,¹ so far as we still possess the work, besides the *Annales monasterii Viconiensis* (1217–1308), the *Historia* of that same monastery situated near Valenciennes (— 1301),² and the *Genealogia ex Chronicis Hannoniensibus collecta*,³ very important for the history of the Avesnes family. We have already mentioned Giselbert of Mons.

After the monastic chronicles reaching into the thirteenth century, Liege has Gilles d'Orval,⁴ a great compiler, whose original work (—1247) we possess. He had access to abundant materials and used them in rather an uncritical way for a continuation of the old chronicles of Heriger and Anselm. His successor, Johannes Hocsem, was far more capable, and in the middle of the fourteenth century he wrote the history of the church of Liege during the century preceding his day in the *Historiæ et res gestæ pontificum Leodiensium*.⁵ He was a canon and scholar at Liege and very much at home in the politics and jurisprudence of those times. His exact reports are important, particularly for the period following 1325, when he several times appeared upon the scene, but also for the earlier years.

Flanders is rich in historians who treat of the thirteenth century in continuation of the old and numerous monastic chronicles. The *Flandria generosa* of the monk of St. Bertin (— 1164) and its supplements to the beginning of the thir-

¹ *Annales Hannoniæ*.

² First published in Martene, *Amplissime Col.*, vi., 296–312; last in *Mon. Germ. Script.*, xxiv., 304–313.

³ D'Achéry, *Spicilegium*, iii., 286.

⁴ *Mon. Germ. Script.*, xxv., 1 et seq.

⁵ Edited by Chapeauville, *Gesta Leod. pont.*, ii., 272.

teenth century, the great source of early Flemish history, were followed by the writers, John of Thielrode and Henry of Ghent, who took up the history of the century, besides theology and philosophy, in extensive works; they are of great value, especially for Ghent and its vicinity. Both lived in the latter half of the thirteenth century. With them is to be named Philip Mouskès, the burgher historian of Tournay,¹ who composed the history of the French kings to about the middle of the thirteenth century in a great rhymed chronicle and imparted many interesting details about his own times. The great Flemish poetical chronicle in the vernacular, a compilation of nearly eleven thousand lines of verse, made about 1300 by an unknown poet and original only in the last part, is very complete. These and the writers following them in the heroic age of the burghers of Flanders have preserved much important information relating to early Flemish history,² often derived from works now lost. Specially noteworthy is Gilles Li Muisis (Aegidius Mucidus), abbot of St. Martin's at Tournay, who wrote, among other things, the *Chronicon Majus* (c. 1350), a very good compilation from older authorities.

The record of the fifteenth-century chronicles of Guelders, Overijssel, and Groningen in these times is of very slight importance, and so is the mythical Frisian history. We have, almost without exception, the authorities which they drew upon for the early periods. The already mentioned Beka chronicle takes a high place among these authorities. The most notable of the later chronicles of the Northern Netherlands is this book of the Utrecht *clericus*, Beka, a canon of the cathedral, according to tradition, the historian of the bishops of Utrecht and the counts of Holland.

The little work *Bella Campestris*³ is prominent among his sources, together with the lists of bishops and the *Annals* of St. Mary. The author of the *Bella Campestris*, living about

¹ Edited by Reiffenberg.

² See all these chronicles in the not very critical collection of De Smet, *Recueil des chroniques de Flandre*.

³ Last edited by Mr. S. Muller in the *Bijdr. en Meded. van het Hist. Gen.*, xi., 497 *et seq.*

1300, based his writing upon older annals and traditions existing at Utrecht and described the ancient rivalry between Holland and Utrecht in the seven wars which he describes.

Beka used this little book with Stoke, with the manuscripts¹ of Egmont studied by him during seven years, and with some other data apparently at his disposal in Utrecht. He certainly had a political purpose in his work, and that was—to show the intimate connection of Holland and Utrecht. *Sub breviori leviorique stylo* than that of older writings, he prepared a concise history of the two states. So far as we can judge from the still unsuperseded, antiquated edition, his work is, as a rule, thoroughly reliable. When we can corroborate him, he usually stands the test. His book extended originally to 1347,² and has received many changes and additions in subsequent supplements and revisions by others until far into the fifteenth century. The original work must, as is evident from the preface, have dated from a time when peace prevailed between Holland and Utrecht. Such a peace was concluded May 13, 1351,³ but it was repeatedly broken before the definitive peace of June 30, 1356.⁴ If it be assumed that the book was not produced in one of these temporary and very brief intervals of peace, we must come to the period from July, 1356, to the end of 1357, when William V. became insane. Precisely during that period, a reference to the historical connection between the countship and the bishopric would have been natural. It is no argument against this that William is styled in the preface simply *princeps Hollandiæ* and not also count of Hainaut, which he certainly was after 1356. He was

¹ *Diversis historiis, annalibus, chronicis, codicibus, privilegiis, dictaminibus et epistolis*, he says in his introductory letter to Bishop John of Arkel and Duke William V.

² The last words then were: *Wilhelmo Duci Palatino suo filio commendavit* (p. 119). What follows would not sound well in the mouth of an author dedicating his work to Duke William. The last sentence is of a character very well suited to the conclusion of the whole work. It states in a few words the occasion of the coming of the dukes. See Bolhuis van Zeeburgh in Nijhoff's *Bijdr.*, *Nieuwe Reeks.*, viii., 364.

³ Van Mieris, ii., 791.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iii., 1 *et seq.*, and *Holl. Beka in Matthæus*, iii., 250.

count of Zealand, and lord of Friesland earlier, and neither of these titles is mentioned.

Beka's work was the foundation of almost all the later chronicles of the Northern Netherlands. It was repeatedly translated, and these translations in their turn were often interpolated, making them of some importance as authorities for the early history of these countries.

Allied with Beka is the work of the "unknown clerk from the low countries on the sea" (to 1316),¹ which, however, "will have nothing to do with the holiness of the fathers and bishops, but treats only the histories of the princes of Holland." The book is not merely a revision of Beka, but is made up independently from him and other "gests and chronicles of the noble counts" (particularly from Melis Stoke and interpolated translations of Beka). The author is not Beka himself, as was asserted by Van der Burch, the seventeenth-century owner of the oldest manuscript; this assertion was based on the superficial observation of Van der Burch that various passages were literally translated from Beka. There is as little reason for believing the writer to have been Philippus à Leydis, the celebrated jurist and contemporary of William V. The book was not dedicated to William V., but rather to William VI. This is doubted for the reason that the dedication speaks of "William . . . count and lord of the lands of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland," while William VI. was also count of Hainaut. This argument does not here apply, because William VI. repeatedly used these titles alone in official documents.² The mention of the work *De proprietatibus rerum* by Bartholomæus Anglicus, who did not write until about 1360, makes positive a later time than the days of William V.

Moreover, the author uses the Dutch translation of Beka of about 1400,³ in any case a translation which it would be difficult to place in Beka's own time, between 1351 and 1358. Ac-

¹ Edited by De Geer in *Werken Hist. Gen., Nieuwe Serie*, No. 6.

² Van Mieris, iv., 39, 92, 94, 357.

³ Cf. Bolhuis van Zeeburch in Nijhoff's *Bijdr., Nieuwe Reeks.*, viii., 365 *et seq.*

according to experts,¹ the language, like that of the Beka translations, dates back, not to the middle of the fourteenth, but to the fifteenth century. If the book is of William VI.'s time, it must have been written after 1404, for his predecessor, Albert, died in December, 1404. The *Herald* made use of it, and his chronicle was composed in 1409.² It is consequently to be put in the years 1405-1408.

The later writers on the ancient history of Holland and Utrecht are not of sufficient importance to be discussed here in detail. Beka and his translations were their great source for early Netherlandish history. Sometimes they merely copy one another.

An exception must be made for the excellent work of Wilhelmus Heda,³ prior of Arnhem and canon of Utrecht, who, at the command of the Utrecht church, in 1521, and after examining, with the help of others, all the archives accessible to him, compiled an historical account of the fortunes of the Utrecht bishops. The learned author enriched his relation with a number of original documents and other pieces which he found in the archives, and which assure a high value to his work, superior in itself to Beka's book and often supplementing it. A new edition of this work is much to be desired.

There is no need of enlarging here upon the spurious chronicle of the so-called Egmont monk, Klaas Koliijn,⁴ which caused so much commotion early in the last century, nor upon the spurious Frisian chronicle, said to be by Occo Scarlensis⁵ and of no use for this period. The famous *Oeralinda-bôk* may also be passed over.

DOCUMENTS, REGISTERS, ACCOUNTS, AND LETTERS

Another sort of authorities for the history of the Netherlands appears at about the same time as the monastic annals, and that is documents.

¹ Among others, Professors Van Helten and Te Winkel (*cf. Gesch. Ned. Letterk.*, i., 572).

² Muller in Nijhoff's *Bijdr.*, 3de Reeks, ii., 76 *et seq.*

³ Edited by Buchelius, 1642.

⁴ See Van Wijn, *Huisz. Leven*, i., 130 *et seq.*

⁵ See Bolhuis van Zeeburgh, *Kritiek der friesche geschiedschrijving*, pp. 148 *et seq.*

Diplomas or documents are writings of a legal character, drawn up in a fixed form¹: political or private agreements, donations, wills, testimony, etc. We have them for the Netherlands from the seventh and eighth centuries, the earliest being almost exclusively donations of property to ecclesiastical foundations or private individuals by the Merovingian and Carolingian kings. Such donations are the principal documents of the first centuries, but documents of other kinds become more numerous in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The importance of these records is perfectly evident. The political ones are chiefly valuable for the political history, while the private ones furnish interesting information for social history. Both species of documents are very useful as authorities, because they were not originally written to serve as a source of history, but offer their data incidentally and as a side issue.

It is plain that documents must often have been forged. How many times there was occasion to fabricate such writings, either for the purpose of giving a basis of certainty to contested rights,² or to legitimate questionable family relations, or for other reasons! So it is very necessary to be able to distinguish genuine from spurious documents. In old times, it was usual, whenever the outward signs did not clearly indicate a forgery, to call in the help of the officials having charge of records, who might be supposed to have expert knowledge by reason of their position. The science of diplomatics arose in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries from the need of further knowledge in this direction, and this science takes up the close study of the documents of ancient and modern times. The founder of such studies in France was the learned Mabillon, and in the Netherlands the celebrated Prof. Kluit of Leyden (1735-1807),³ after whose death little more was done

¹ Wattenbach's definition.

² As, for example, the false charter of Charlemagne, to which the Frisians were accustomed to appeal from the middle of the thirteenth century.

³ Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre*. See the important discussion between Messrs. Fruin, Pols, and Kappeyne van de Coppello on the genu-

here in this department, although French and German scholars have greatly developed it.

Latin is almost exclusively the language of our documents for the period under discussion. Late in the thirteenth century the vernacular was adopted in Holland and Zeeland while Latin obtained elsewhere. For those two provinces documents are to be found in the antiquated *Charterboek* of Van Mieris and the new but carelessly edited *Oorkondenboek voor Holland en Zeeland* (— 1299), by the former royal archivist, Van den Bergh; for Guelders in Baron Sloet's *Oorkondenboek* (— 1288); for Friesland in Baron van Schwartzenberg's old *Charterboek*, with which should be consulted the list compiled by Colmjon of documents lacking in it; for Groningen in Driessen's obsolete *Monumenta Groningana*, while a new documentary collection is in preparation; for Drenthe a number of papers are published in the works of the former archivist, Magnin, but an *Oorkondenboek* is now also being compiled; for the bishopric of Utrecht Mr. S. Muller has undertaken the publication of a collection of documents on a large scale. Smaller documentary works have been issued for the various provinces of the Netherlands. Very many documents relating to Flanders may be found in Warnkönig's *Flandrische Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte*; relating to Brabant in Dynter's chronicle; relating to Hainaut, etc., in Reiffenberg's collection, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de Namur, Hainaut, Luxembourg*, etc.; relating to Luxemburg in the *Cartulaire d'Orval*, edited by Goffinet; relating to the South in general in the *Table chronologique des chartes et diplômes imprimés*, by Wauters. Generally speaking, it may be said that our documents prior to 1300 are accessible to the student, though perhaps in antiquated editions not answering to high scientific requirements.

The cartularies, in which the heads of convents and churches had the records copied relating to their abundant possessions, may be used as authorities for the social history of this period.

inence of the charter of Count Dirk V. of 1083, *Oork. v. Holl. en Z.*, i., No. 89 (Nijhoff's *Bijdragen*, *N. R.*, iv. and v.). This is about all that has been published in Holland on the criticism of documents since Kluit.

One might say that the social history of the country—and that is about all of the social history, at least until 1200, when the Netherlands could show only a very few cities—lies buried in them, so far as we can hope to learn it. Especially important for Netherlandish history before 1300 are the cartularies of Egmont, those of Utrecht, of Dikninge in Drenthe, Mariënweerd in the Betuwe, Aduard near Groningen, St. Odulf at Stavoren, Orval, Dunes, Thorn, etc.

In addition to these documents, many monasteries and churches had lists of their possessions drawn up at an early date and kept registers of their income. These lists and registers may be of great service as sources of information concerning the history of society. We possess, *e. g.*, ancient lists of the property and revenue of the celebrated abbeys of Fulda and Werden,¹ which had extensive possessions in the Netherlands as early as the eighth and ninth centuries.

Caution is necessary in the use of these lists. There is a register of the property of the abbey of Corvey, a *Codex Traditionum Corbeiensium*, in which a *Registrum* of Abbot Saracho is said by the editor, Falke, to date from the eleventh century. This *Registrum Sarachonis*, frequently employed by Dutch authors, among others by Van den Bergh for his *Middle-Netherlandish Geography*, was long ago shown to be a mystification as well as the *Codex* itself.² The Utrecht register of fiefs, ascribed to Bishop Adelbold, is spurious or, in any case, not so old as is asserted.³ On the other hand, the register of fiefs of Floris V. and some appearing in Sloet's *Oorkondenboek* must be considered as extremely important.

Accounts anterior to 1300 are rare in the Netherlands except for a few cities of Flanders. In the North, we possess for such early times only some municipal accounts of the city of Dordrecht from 1284.⁴ They are quite remarkable and a

¹ The best edition, so far as Holland is concerned, is that published as an appendix to Friedlaender's *Ostfriesisches Urkundenbuch*, II.

² See Wigand, *Die Korveischen Geschichtsquellen*; Wilmans, *Kaiserurkunden Westfalens*, pp. 56 and 107.

³ Heda, edited by Buchelius, p. III.

⁴ Dozy, *De oudste stadsrekeningen van Dordrecht*, *Werken Hist. Gen.*, 3de Serie, No. 2.

very trustworthy source of historical information, because again they furnish it unintentionally, and their accuracy is assured.

The letters of historical personages coming down to us from the centuries before 1300 are of slight importance to Dutch history. A single letter from the great missionary, Boniface, and some from contemporaries about him¹; letters of Oliver of Cologne²; those in the chronicles of Emo and Menco—that is about all. This sort of information, so essential to our knowledge of the historical characters of later times, is not at our disposal for the early period, and this is one reason for the early personages being little more to us than mere puppets.

COINS, BUILDINGS, AND ANTIQUITIES

A large number of coins have been found in the ground of Holland, dating from the earliest days of the Roman dominion. The museums contain many consular and imperial coins of Rome, Frankish, Saxon, Frisian, German, and foreign coins, important in the history of Netherlandish civilisation as showing its extent and seats and the commercial relations of Holland's forefathers. The fatherland is constantly opening its bosom to tell of hostile invasions which gave occasion for people to bury their money, which would later testify to trading intercourse with England, Scandinavia, Russia, Byzantium, Spain, and the Levant, or to reveal highways along which wares and merchants made their way. The coins speak to us of the most ancient inhabited places, of the growing significance of money as a circulating medium, of economic dependence upon neighbouring sections, of the centres of domestic trade, and of the course of the old roads.

They take a prominent place as objects of art among the numerous antiquities which the greedy earth swallowed up and preserved for our time. The countless urns that once enshrined the ashes of cremated bodies; the even more numerous vases and kettles for domestic use; the bricks and tiles

¹ In Jaffé's *Bibl. Rerum Germ.*, vol. ii.

² Edited again by Röhrich in *Westd. Zeitschr.*, x., Heft ii.

of Roman times and the Middle Ages; the huge mass of bones, nets, stones, missiles, beads, bronze swords and daggers, wooden, bone, and horn implements, old stone fonts, stone chisels and hammers; later images of the saints and other church ornaments, antique glass, seals—in short, all the articles for home and ecclesiastical use heaped up in museums help to bring before us the life of Holland's forefathers.

We possess very few inscriptions of the Middle Ages, fewer than of Roman times, preserved chiefly at Leyden, Utrecht, and Nimwegen. While the Roman inscriptions may serve to confirm or to supplement the statements of historians, those of later centuries—almost without exception epitaphs like the older ones—exist for the most part only in copies and are of slight consequence.

The surviving buildings or traces of them are more important. Although the Roman watch-towers have vanished from Dutch soil, although the sea has long since covered up the remains of the ancient Lugdunum Batavorum (Brittenburg), which were viewed by wondering eyes in the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, the discovery of the ruins of the temple of Nehalennia at Domburg, of the Roman villas in Limburg, of the Forum Hadriani, of the ancient Fectio, of the Roman fortifications at Nimwegen and Aix-la-Chapelle, gave some idea of the condition of the Netherlands in the days of Rome. But all this does not equal what Treves has to show in this respect. Nothing of the kind was found north of the Rhine, and this agrees with the boundaries of the Roman dominion in this quarter.

The North is quite rich in architectural works dating from before 1300, at least in works of the thirteenth and perhaps also of the twelfth century. Of an earlier time than this, the palace on the Valkenhof, restored in the days of Barbarossa, is really all that we have of this kind. Many a church in the country, chiefly in the ancient villages of Groningen and Friesland, goes back to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but not earlier, and so do a few church buildings in the then rising cities of Utrecht, Maestricht, etc. Limestone and brick were the materials mainly used in the construction of

these churches. Limestone and brick were also the materials employed in building the castles, still existing in whole or in part, which date back to these centuries: the Leyden burg, contemporary with that of the Flemish counts at Ghent (twelfth century), the thirteenth-century Lottery Hall in the Binnenhof at the Hague, contemporary with "Radboud's" castle at Medemblik, some crypts or towers in the few castles that have escaped destruction in the country. In Holland, there are almost no buildings erected by the burghers at so early a period as the antique Skipper House at Ghent.

LITERARY MONUMENTS

The purely literary monuments take a particular place among historical authorities. They serve principally to show the spirit of the time, to enable us to form some idea of the manners and customs, to illustrate some facts of this or that side of the life of the people. Such monuments are the *Ludwigslied*, breathing hatred and boundless exasperation against the invading Northmen; Maerlant's *Complaint of the Churches*, the swan-song of the crusades; his fierce outbreaks against the clergy of his days; the love-songs of Duke John of Brabant. With these lyrical effusions stands the epic of *Reynard the Fox* as an unsurpassed picture of manners.

On the other hand, the poetical romances have quite a different place, chiefly owing to the fact that they are translated, and commonly slavishly translated. They portray the chivalry of Northern France, and although this may not have differed altogether from that of the Netherlands, they were certainly far enough apart for the description of one not perfectly to fit the other. Aside from the circumstance that the translation was sometimes made long after the original, it is thus hazardous to draw conclusions from the Netherlandish translated romances respecting the manners and customs of the Netherlands. We can very rarely praise our authors for letting their fancy fly with its own wings, and when they do, this fancy is merely a varnish, under which it is difficult to discern the truth.

Historical songs hardly existed in this period.

LAWS AND ORDINANCES

A good historical source for the later times, as well as for the Frankish period, is found in the laws, especially the Frisian legislation,¹ which we possess from the eleventh century on. The XVII. Ordinances, whose composition indicates the days of the Brunos; the Land Law of a somewhat later time; the thirteenth-century Hunsingoo and Fivelgoo ordinances and those of Langewold and Vredewold in the western quarter of Groningen; then the thirteenth-century city and country ordinances of Holland and Zealand,² the corresponding laws of parts of Utrecht, the later ones of Guelders and Brabant—these all furnish a whole that brings the legal conditions in the thirteenth century, at least, quite plainly before the mind and embodies many memorials of days long past.

Conclusions must not be based too confidently upon these memorials. Everything is not Old German in these laws that is evidently of an older date than the rest. It is with them as with the “ancient times” so often mentioned in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which refer to an “antiquity” not going back beyond the bounds of the century. This observation applies particularly to laws like the old laws of the marks of Guelders and Overijssel,³ only extant in late revisions, to the “Limburg Wisdom,”⁴ much of which is apparently older than what is combined with it, while the antiquity of these older portions cannot be even approximately determined.

Thus, in the dated laws, there is much that must be carried back to an earlier time, as these laws are mostly the codification of ancient customs transmitted in oral traditions from generation to generation. This fact makes the use of these

¹ Published in Richthofen, *Friesische Rechtsquellen*.

² These and the following are published in the documentary collections of these provinces, in the *Werken der Vereeniging voor de uitgave der bronnen van het oudvaderl. recht*, etc.

³ The first edited by Sloet, Pleyte, and others in various editions, the latter in the *Werken der Vereeniging voor Overijselsch recht en geschiedenis*.

⁴ Habets, *Limburgsche Wijsdommen*, in the *Werken der Vereeniging voor de uitgave der bronnen van het oudvaderl. recht*.

authorities for the social history of a given period often very doubtful and difficult.

The *Coutumes* of the southern provinces are mainly comprised in the great collection *Recueil des anciennes coutumes de la Belgique* and thus rendered available to students.



THE GALLIC GERMANIC TERRITORIES
BORDERING ON THE LOWER RHINE

C. 100 A.D.

SCALE 1:3,700,000.



TERRITORIES ON THE LOWER RHINE IN THE 10TH CENTURY

SCALE 1:3.7.000.000



THE NETHERLANDS IN THE 13TH CENTURY

SCALE 1:2,000,000.

ECCLESIASTICAL TERRITORY





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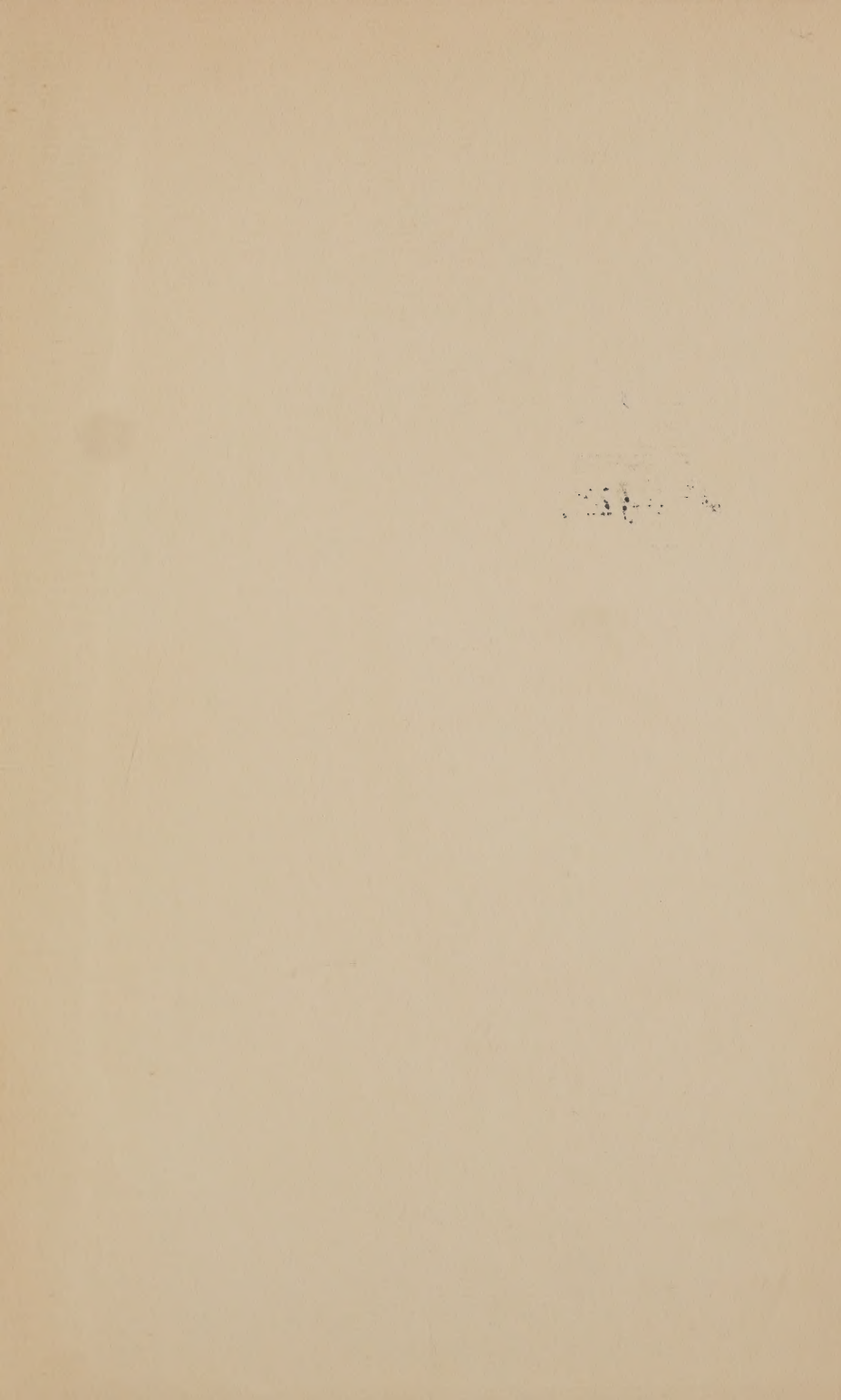
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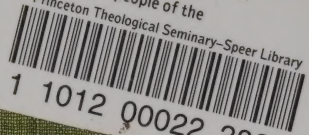


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